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U.S. Note to China Reportedly Tells Of F-5s for Taiwan

By Hedrick Smith
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The United States has sent a high-level message to China that it will proceed with co-production of the F-5E fighter aircraft with Taiwan, well-placed administration sources have disclosed.

Some sources said Friday that the U.S. message was transmitted in a letter from President Reagan to the Chinese leadership and delivered in Peking by Ambassador Arthur W. Hummel Jr. in the past week. But White House officials would not confirm that the communication involved a presidential message.

U.S. officials said that although the president's latest action had been foreshadowed by an earlier decision six months ago, the administration was still braced for a strong reaction from Peking which has strenuously opposed continuing American arms sales to Taiwan and warned of serious consequences.

In Peking, the Chinese Foreign Ministry reacted cautiously Saturday to a promise by U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz to support the sale of defensive weapons to Taiwan, *The Associated Press* reported.

"Our stand is consistent and is known to all," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said in answer to reporters' questions about Mr. Shultz's statement last Wednesday during his Senate confirmation hearings.

Diplomatic sources said the ministry's statement was cautious and noted that China declined to launch headlong into a condemnation of the new secretary of state. There is no doubt, however, that China adamantly is opposed to arms sales, they said.

Long Negotiations

On Jan. 11, the State Department announced that Mr. Reagan had decided to let Taiwan buy additional F-5E fighter planes but not more advanced aircraft. But long diplomatic exchanges with Peking over the next several months and many debates within the administration had raised some doubts in conservative ranks, among others, about when and whether the decision would be put into effect.

Sen. Barry Goldwater, the Arizona Republican, along with other conservatives has been pressing the president to proceed on the F-5E issue to demonstrate the administration's commitment to Taiwan and its determination to fulfill provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act, passed by Congress to preserve the military supplies to Taiwan after the Carter administration established full diplomatic relations with Peking.

Senior U.S. officials said that the president had still not made a decision on notifying Congress that he had approved the F-5E deal with Taiwan. They said he was awaiting a report from Mr. Hummel on "the temperature" in Peking following the latest communications.

Last Wednesday, Sen. Goldwater urged the confirmation hearings for Mr. Shultz to complain that the formal notice to Congress had been "delayed and withheld" and to press Mr. Shultz to support prompt action on the issue.

"Of course, a decision to send something up here will be the president's decision," Mr. Shultz said. "My advice to him would be to do it. But he will have to decide that."

The fact that Mr. Shultz was ready to make such a strong public statement was taken as an indication that Mr. Reagan had decided to "break the long diplomatic logjam on the issue."

Thursday, Sen. Goldwater said he had been informed that the president had decided to continue arms sales to Taiwan "as they are needed." He called this decision a

defeat for those in the administration who wanted to "cave in to Red China and dump Taiwan." Former Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. had cautioned the White House against unnecessary friction with Peking over arms sales to Taiwan and in effect had fought a delaying action against implementing the president's January decision to proceed on co-production of F-5Es.

But in the weeks before Mr. Haig's resignation, the White House had become increasingly frustrated with his approach and the delays it was causing. Eager to demonstrate to Congress that it stood by Taiwan, the White House wanted to send Congress a letter as soon as possible authorizing the Northrop Corp. to continue production in Taiwan of the F-5E.

The Reagan administration had already considered this a compromise concession to Peking because Taiwan had wanted a more advanced fighter, known as the FX.

A crowd filled a square in Tel Aviv Saturday night to support the Israeli war policy in Lebanon. Mayor Shlomo Lahat, a

sponsor, estimated that 250,000 people attended, which would make it the largest demonstration in the country's history.

Israel to Await Talks Between Reagan, Arabs

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

JERUSALEM. The Israeli Cabinet agreed Sunday to wait until President Reagan has met with Syrian and Saudi officials on Tuesday before making any further decisions about how to get trapped Palestinian guerrillas out of West Beirut, an Israeli official said.

Israeli officials reported that there had appeared to be a split in the Cabinet during deliberations over what to do next.

Many ministers accused the guerrillas, as well as Syria and Saudi Arabia, of stalling in the negotiations being conducted in Beirut by Philip C. Habib, the U.S. special envoy in the Middle East, the official said.

"Some ministers felt the Cabinet should take an immediate decision on new measures to force out the Palestinian terrorists from Beirut," he told reporters.

"But a majority of the Cabinet agreed to wait until after President

Reagan's meeting with the Syrian and Saudi foreign ministers in Washington on Tuesday," he added.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin warned Saturday that the guerrillas have fewer than 30 days to quit their besieged bases in the Lebanese capital.

Mr. Reagan and the new U.S. secretary of state, George P. Shultz, are to confer with the Syrian foreign minister, Abdel Halim Khaddam, and the Saudi foreign minister, Prince Saud al-Faisal. The two foreign ministers represent the Arab League in the efforts to reach an agreement.

The Israeli officials said they believed the Saudis and Americans were trying to persuade Syria to admit the guerrillas and their families.

The Syrians agreed about 10 days ago to accept the guerrillas but then changed their minds, the officials said Sunday.

One Israeli official said Mr. Habib had "again asked us to be a bit more patient and the government reluctantly agreed. But the ministers asked the prime minister to make it clear it will not tolerate Arab stalling tactics much longer."

The Israeli officials also reported Sunday that no progress had been made in negotiations on getting the Palestinians out of Beirut and that it would be "unrealistic" for Israel to wait 30 days for diplomatic results.

Briefing reporters after the Cabinet meeting, officials said Israel was losing political ground and the Palestinians were gaining world sympathy as the negotiations dragged on without progress.

'Temporary Sanctuary'

The Israeli defense minister, Ariel Sharon, offered Saturday to give the Palestinians "temporary sanctuary" in Israel in a bid to break the impasse in the talks.

Israel is considering a military operation to drive the estimated 6,000 Palestinian guerrillas out of West Beirut but is deterred by the prospect of heavy casualties and by U.S. opposition to such an assault.

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Foreign Policy Under Shultz Is Expected to Reflect Reagan's Ideology

By Leslie H. Gelb
New York Times Service

Treasury and handed him the impossible tasks of trying to make the wage-price policy work."

The editorial came to the same conclusion that a number of White House officials were expressing privately last week: This will not be a problem since Mr. Shultz and President Reagan agree on almost everything.

Even if Mr. Shultz and Mr. Reagan agree on everything now, what will happen once the new secretary is enmeshed in the perspectives of the State Depart-

NEWS ANALYSIS

ment? Having to deal with the concerns of other countries has turned the heads of almost every recent secretary of state.

Another key question is whether Mr. Shultz arrived too late to make much of a difference in any direction.

These questions fill the present vacuum of uncertainty. It is simply not clear, for example, whether Mr. Haig often succeeded because Mr. Keegan feared five and a half years with President Nixon was that he would not defend his own principles strongly enough. A long-standing loc of economic intervention, he stayed on when Nixon in August, 1971, launched a disastrous policy of wage and price control. He did not even flinch when Nixon made him secretary of the

flows toward him, so he doesn't need to throw his body in the way."

For all Mr. Reagan's happy anticipation last week to "having George with us as a member of the team," a certain level of institutional tension between the State Department bureaucracy and the politicians in the White House is inevitable. This can be alleviated by personnel changes, which people who claim to know said Mr. Shultz will do within the next 60 days.

The conflict with the White House can also be muted simply by not painting decisions that go against the State Department as losses, as Mr. Haig was wont to do. According to one of these sources, "You won't know when George wins or loses."

The question has arisen several times as to why Mr. Shultz was not offered the position in the first place. The answer, according to two people familiar with the circumstances, was that someone in Mr. Reagan's inner circle told the president that Mr. Shultz was not interested.

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White House officials have contended all along that Mr. Reagan has consistent views about the world and what to do with American power. They decried the lack of consistency in Carter administration policy and have bemoaned their own lack of consistency for the last year and a half. The reason for that inconsistency, as they see it, was Mr. Haig.

If the Reagan administration is, in fact, about to embark on a consistent foreign policy, it will be in a rightward direction. Two things can change that — failure or Mr. Shultz.

of foreign policy. This is perhaps borne out by a conservative trend in Mr. Reagan's recent moves.

His decision to bar the sale of oil and gas equipment to the Soviet Union not only by American companies but by West European companies producing under license was a case in point. His edging toward approving the sale of new jet fighters for Taiwan at the risk of embittering relations with China is another.

A move to improve relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization and Arab states on the ground that the Arabs are more important than Israel in the struggle against Moscow would be contrary to campaign rhetoric, but it would also underline a certain conservative trend.

Mr. Shultz, in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week, made clear that he either agrees with these courses of action or is prepared to go along with them.

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Iran Claims Successes In Ground, Air Battles

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

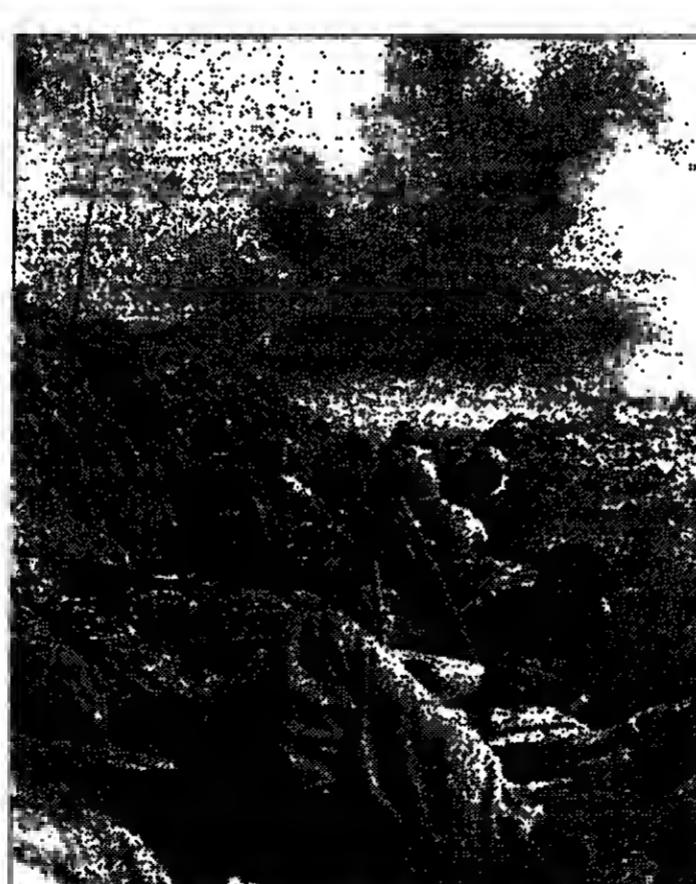
LONDON — Iran claimed further successes against Iraq on Sunday, indicating that heavy fighting close to their border was continuing.

A military communiqué said that in the latest operation inside Iraq, Iranian troops had destroyed two brigades and one battalion, killing or wounding more than 850 Iraqis and capturing more than 800. Tehran radio, monitored in London, quoted the communiqué as saying: Iranian forces had knocked out 116 Iraqi tanks and armored troop carriers.

Iranian fighters and helicopters raided targets inside Iraq, inflicting heavy damage and casualties, the communiqué said. It did not say when or where the latest operation took place, but the recent fighting has been concentrated around the Iraqi oil city of Basra, about 15 miles (24 kilometers) from the common border at the head of the Gulf.

The latest Iraqi statement, carried by the official Iraqi news agency, said 2,300 Iranian troops had been killed and a large number captured in the past 24 hours. The newspaper quoted unidentified

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)



Iranian forces taking position in their trenches near Alzwair, Iran, at the southern front. Tehran radio claimed Sunday that Iranian forces had inflicted further heavy casualties on Iraq.

Shelling, PLO Raid Are Reported As Negotiations Continue in Beirut

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIRUT — Sporadic shelling broke out around West Beirut on Sunday and the encircled Palestine Liberation Organization reported a nighttime raid against Israeli positions as negotiations to end the siege continued with no apparent progress.

Beirut Radio said Sunday's shooting was intermittent and confined to the southern suburbs, where most of the estimated 6,000 PLO fighters are concentrated. Each side said the other fired the first shots.

The area has been largely quiet since a cease-fire ended furious artillery battles a week ago that killed at least 60 people.

The PLO and Mr. Wazzan are insisting that the force be deployed before the PLO departs to protect West Beirut's population and the civilian Palestinians against reprisals. But Mr. Habib is said to be in favor of sending in the peacekeepers after the PLO's departure.

The United States, France, Italy, Greece, Austria and the Netherlands have agreed in principle to provide contingents to the force.

Hopes for a breakthrough in the talks are pinned on a meeting Sunday in Washington between President Reagan and the Syrian and Saudi Arabian foreign ministers.

Efforts to end the conflict went on as the special U.S. envoy, Philip C. Habib, met with Lebanese President Elias Sarkis and Premier Shafiq al-Wazzan. Throughout the talks to prevent an Israeli assault on the capital, Mr. Habib has been the key link with Israel, while Mr. Wazzan has maintained constant contact with the PLO.

Mr. Wazzan told the English-language magazine *Moudaw Morning* in Beirut that two key obstacles were slowing the negotiations — the timing of the deployment of a multinational peace force in the city and the destination of guerrilla evacuates.

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Government sources also said they were still considering a PLO proposal that its fighters pull back temporarily to positions within Lebanon while final foreign destinations are arranged.

Mr. Wazzan also said in a magazine interview that he was "certain that Lebanon will not sign a unilateral peace treaty with Israel."

Israeli Official Slain

TEL AVIV (UPI) — Yassov Kor, 55, director of public works on the Israeli-occupied West Bank, was shot to death Saturday by a gunman as he was shopping for vegetables in the Bethlehem marketplace, Israel radio and television networks reported.

Occupation forces placed the town under curfew immediately after the attack, but lifted the curfew a few hours later. About 100 suspects were detained.

Speculation Growing in U.K. About Major New Spy Scandal

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON — Members of Parliament are urging Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to make a statement on national security amid speculation that a major new spy scandal is about to erupt.

The requests have been prompted by reports of a serious breach of security at the nerve center of Britain's intelligence network, the government communications headquarters at Cheltenham in the west of England.

Radio communications between foreign governments and armed forces are relayed there by listening stations all over the world. The information is shared under an agreement with the United States and NATO countries.

On Thursday, Geoffrey Arthur Prime, 44, a Cheltenham taxi driver, was charged with unspecified acts of espionage over 13 years. Press reports said he had worked at the Cheltenham center from 1968 to 1978.

A Labor MP, Leo Abse, wrote to the government leader of the House of Commons Sunday alleging an official cover-up of a recent report by a judge on security.

Mr. Abse wrote: "Spy scandal succeeds spy scandal and still the government fails to honor

Geoffrey Dickens, a Conservative MP, called for an emergency debate on the security of sensitive computers.

Labor MP Ted Leadbitter, who last year exposed the cursor of the queen's art collection, Sir Anthony Blunt, as a former Soviet spy, said: "Ever since the Blunt affair I have not been convinced the whole truth has been made available to the House of Commons about lapses in security."

Several MPs have demanded that Mrs. Thatcher give a written reply in Parliament next week on whether she is satisfied with security of government communications establishments.

They say the leaks could be the most damaging to any government since the Burgess, Maclean and Philby Soviet spy ring was unmasked several years ago.

Several Sunday newspapers said ministers were denying that there was still a spy ring or a double agent deep within the headquarters.

A former Cheltenham employee, Alec Lawrie, 59, called security at the Cheltenham base "lax and fossilized."

Uniformed police were on guard at Cheltenham Friday for the first time, and the center's

INSIDE

■ Launch Under Attack is a nuclear war strategy that is to many thinkers an anathema ranking out far behind pre-emptive war. But for a supposedly unthinkable idea, it has been much discussed of late.

■ Starvation as a means by average Russians to extract visas from the Soviet state may seem, at the least, ill-advised. But against the history of pressure tactics used to secure emigration, the recent rash

Shultz Consults Kissinger in Day of Middle East Meetings

By Bernard Gwertzman
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz called in the Israeli and Egyptian ambassadors Saturday and met all afternoon with Henry A. Kissinger and other experts in an effort to develop a new, longer-range policy for the Middle East, State Department officials said.

An official said it is possible that Mr. Shultz may decide to ask Mr. Kissinger, a former secretary of state, or other prominent Americans to undertake a special mission to the Middle East.

Mr. Shultz "has the strong sense that patterns are shifting in the

Middle East and we'd be pretty dumb if we got stuck in the day-to-day muddle over Lebanon and watched the chances drift by," the official explained. The new U.S. secretary of state, who was sworn in Friday, devoted his first full day in office to the Middle East.

He met Saturday morning for more than half hour with Moshe Arens, Israel's ambassador in the United States, and had a later session planned Saturday with Ashraf Ghurbal, Egypt's envoy.

In a related development, an aide said Mr. Shultz has recommended that President Reagan recommit himself to Israel's security. Mr. Shultz reportedly told Mr. Arens that despite the problems in the

State Department, replacing Deputy Secretary Walter J. Stossel Jr., who is expected to retire this year.

Possible No. 2

Mr. Dam, provost at the University of Chicago, worked with Mr. Shultz in the Office of Management and Budget and in the Treasury Department.

According to an Israeli diplomat, Mr. Shultz told Mr. Arens that he was the first ambassador invited by him to the State Department because he wanted to emphasize Mr. Reagan's continuing commitment to Israel's security. Mr. Shultz reportedly told Mr. Arens that despite the problems in the

Middle East caused by the Lebanese crisis and the Iraq-Iran war, there are opportunities for achieving a breakthrough and Mr. Shultz intends to try and take advantage of them.

Mr. Shultz visited Israel and other Middle East countries a few years ago with Irving S. Shapiro, then the chief executive officer of DuPont Co. Now a lawyer in Wilmington, Del., Mr. Shapiro was invited to take part in the all-afternoon session with Mr. Kissinger.

Another former associate at the session was Laurence H. Silberman, a San Francisco banker who served with Mr. Shultz when he was secretary of labor. Mr. Silberman has long been regarded as a candidate for possible high office in the Reagan administration.

The decision by Mr. Shultz to seek Mr. Kissinger's advice about the Middle East in such a visible way was described by an aide as a sign that he intends to take more advantage of Mr. Kissinger's experience than had former Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr.

Admiration for Kissinger

Mr. Shultz has said in the past that he admires Mr. Kissinger's skills in foreign affairs, having served with him under Mr. Nixon. In his current book of memoirs, Mr. Kissinger said that "if I could choose one American to whom I would entrust the nation's fate in a crisis, it would be George Shultz."

Others who took part in the session that began with lunch and lasted through dinner, officials said, were: Mr. Stossel; Lawrence S. Eagleburger, undersecretary of state for political affairs; Nicholas A. Veliotes, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs; Paul Wolfowitz, director of policy planning; Richard Fairbanks, who had been Mr. Haig's special assistant on Middle East diplomacy; Robert C. McFarlane, deputy director of the National Security Council staff, and Robert C. Ames, chief specialist on the Middle East for the Central Intelligence Agency.

One weapons advantage for Israel is its Merkava tank. The earlier fighting proved the effectiveness of this tank against Soviet-built T-72s used by Syria.

Instead, they are thinking in terms of point-to-point advances, each advance covered by heavy fire from machine guns and mortars. These tactics demand a great deal from infantry, even infantry as well trained as that of the Israeli Army.

While accepting the seriousness of the military problem, Israeli sources emphasize that they see no hope of stability in Lebanon or in the Middle East generally until the PLO is eliminated as a military force.

Tanks have not been particularly effective in urban warfare in the PLO will be a magnet for anti-Israeli and anti-American elements throughout the region, and the Soviet Union will continue to train PLO soldiers in platoon leader, anti-aircraft technology and intelligence. The Russians, our intelligence source said, have made a minor military investment in the PLO but the result has been a force that has been able to keep the Israelis occupied for nearly two months.

Western intelligence sources believe that the Israelis now have the military resources for an assault on West Beirut should they choose to play this card. An Israeli armored brigade, which has a war strength of 3,500 men and 80 to 100 tanks, and a mechanized brigade, with 3,500 men and 30 to 40 tanks, recently moved into the battle zone.

"We have been fortunate," an Israeli source said. "We built this tank incorporating the infantry-carrying capacity. We have had a chance to prove it on the battlefield. It works. We think it will work anywhere."

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Army Leaders Consider Move Inevitable if Diplomacy Fails

By Drew Middleton
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — An impression is growing among Western military intelligence officers that the Israeli Army is prepared — if diplomatic measures fail — to root out the military elements of the Palestine Liberation Organization in West Beirut.

The Israelis understand, a highly qualified Israeli source said, that storming PLO strongholds would involve casualties that, even if acceptable militarily, would feed opposition in Israel to the war. They also understand that casualties among the civilian population in West Beirut would exacerbate criticism of their policies.

Balancing these factors is the Israeli military conviction that the survival of the PLO in West Beirut would amount to a serious setback for national policy.

At the same time, Israeli intelligence reports emphasize that the PLO forces in West Beirut are better armed than they had expected. The Israelis contend that the Palestinian guerrillas have more than a million rounds of ammunition of all types and that they are equipped with Soviet-made 130mm rockets and guns. The rocket launchers are mobile and can fire 40 rounds in quick succession, then move to a new position.

The Israelis, displaying their customary confidence, believe they

can overcome these Palestinian advantages. The idea of a heavy air and artillery bombardment appears to have been put aside for the moment, largely because in past operations of this type it has not sufficed to liquidate opposition.

Instead, they are thinking in terms of point-to-point advances, each advance covered by heavy fire from machine guns and mortars. These tactics demand a great deal from infantry, even infantry as well trained as that of the Israeli Army.

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Israelis Reportedly Defend Cluster Bomb Use

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — Israel was reported Sunday to have told the U.S. government it had not violated its agreement concerning the use of American-provided cluster bombs because they had been aimed only against military targets.

Israeli radio, reporting on the content of the Israeli reply delivered Friday to Secretary of State George P. Shultz, said the government had justified its use of the deadly bombs on the ground that the Syrian entry into the fighting had turned it into a "full-scale war."

"In these conditions," the radio quoted the Israeli explanation, "it had been permissible for Israel to use the cluster bombs."

No Other Details

They had been used "within the limits laid down in the use of U.S. arms," the Israeli government reportedly told Mr. Shultz.

No other detailed account of the Israeli reply was available here Sunday and it was not even clear

that Israel radio was quoting directly from it or simply giving the gist of the Israeli argument.

[President Reagan said Sunday the administration has begun a major review of all the problems involved in the current Middle East crisis, including whether to send new shipments of cluster bombs to Israel, United Press International reported.]

[Mr. Reagan made the comment on his return to the White House by helicopter after spending the weekend at the presidential retreat at Camp David, Md. Asked if it is a good time to review the question of further arms to Israel, Mr. Reagan said: "This is what is on our minds right now, everything to do with the Middle East and trying to find answers to that problem."]

Privately, officials in Washington said the Pentagon had already ordered a hold on a new shipment to Israel of 155mm artillery shells that function like cluster bombs.

Sources in Jerusalem said, "Israel used cluster bombs only for defensive purposes and against military targets only."

Israel in its reply was also said

to have expressed regret over the civilian casualties resulting from its use of the bombs. But it said they were the result of the "systematic deployment" of Syrian and Palestinian guerrilla forces in civilian areas, the radio said.

The issue of the use, and possible misuse, of U.S.-provided cluster bombs by the Israelis in its invasion of southern Lebanon has not yet been aired here and the government has said little about it to the public.

Used in 2 Areas

The Israelis are known to have used the weapon, which explodes above ground and sprays hundreds of tiny bomblets over football-field-size area, in at least two areas.

One was in the mountain Chouf region of south central Lebanon near Ain Dara just south of the Beirut-to-Damascus highway where Syrian forces successfully blocked the Israeli advance toward the vital road link for days.

The Israeli drive through the Chouf was not primarily aimed at

the Palestinians but was part of a secondary objective of forcing Syria out of Lebanon's eastern Bekaa Valley and indeed all of Lebanon. There were practically no Palestinian guerrillas anywhere in the Chouf region.

Washington Post correspondent Jonathan Randel visited an Armenian sanatorium near Ain Dara that was hit by a cluster bomb during the Israeli drive through the area. The hospital was located just below the road where Syrian tanks and armor had blocked the advancing Israeli column.

The Israelis also used the cluster bombs in attacking the Palestinian camps in the southern outskirts of Beirut. In particular, western correspondents visiting the camp of Bariq Arsalan in the first weeks of the war were given some of the bomblets as souvenirs.

The Palestinian camps contain both civilians and guerrillas, most of whose families live with them. As the war progressed, however, most of the civilians were evacuated from the camps and took shelter in the city's center.

Mr. Habib has told Israel that 90 percent of the agreement has been reached and that the only major issue remaining was finding a sanctuary for the Palestinian, the official said. But Mr. Habib had made "no progress at all in the last four or five days," he added.

The official said Mr. Begin had invited Mr. Shultz to visit Israel.

In his comments Saturday, Mr. Begin told the rally in Tel Aviv that Israel already had destroyed "90 percent" of the guerrilla forces and stood ready to eliminate the Beirut area.

Without saying which U.S. officials had been in contact with the prime minister said he had heard last week from the United States that the negotiations on the Palestinian withdrawal would take another 30 days.

"I hereby declare the Palestinians in Beirut have not got 30 days," he told a cheering crowd.

An Israeli official said later, however, that Israel has set no deadline for reaching an agreement.

Mr. Sharon, who spoke just before Mr. Begin, said Israel was willing to grant "immediate temporary sanctuary" to the guerrillas in West Beirut.

Israel Conditions

He added that only guerrillas whose hands were "not covered with blood" and who agreed to quit the Palestine Liberation Organization would be welcome in Israel.

Mr. Sharon said he was making the offer with the understanding that Israel would honor its word not to harm those granted sanctuary only until a country could be willing to take them permanently.

"Sharon should know that the only solution is not elsewhere but in Palestine," replied Mahmoud Labadi, the chief spokesman for PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, in a telephone interview in Beirut Sunday. "All varieties of psychological warfare are doomed to failure."

Mr. Begin also called for Jordan to open peace talks with Israel, proposing that Amman enter into a confederation of free movement and trade with what he called "the western land of Israel" — the term by which he refers in Israel and the West Bank.

Mr. Begin said Jordan could use Israel's ports at Haifa and Ashdod instead of shipping its goods around the Gulf of Suez or the Cape of Good Hope.

But Jordan rejected the suggestions Sunday. "This is ridiculous," the Jordanian information minister, Adnan Abu Odeh, said. "It is just an Israeli maneuver to divert attention from its plans to liquidate the PLO," he added.

A Security Council resolution calling for a cease-fire and a withdrawal of troops to internationally recognized borders was unanimously approved last Tuesday, a day before an Iranian military force drove across the Iraqi border, intent on toppling Iraq's government and extracting war indemnities. "Do you expect us to fight our way to the border, then just shake hands and say goodbye?" asked Mr. Khorassani Wednesday.

President Hussein on Saturday accused Tehran's Islamic rulers and Israel of collaborating in the Gulf war in a bid to destroy the Middle East.

The Iranian people today are the object of a Zionist conspiracy that brought the rulers of Iran to power to blow up the region and push it back," Mr. Hussein said in a speech marking the 14th anniversary of his Baath party rule in Iraq.

Addressing the Iraqi armed forces, Mr. Hussein said, "Iraqi soil will remain sacred. Your struggle against the Iranian army is in defense of not only Iraq, but the entire Arab nation."

He also said Saturday that a summit of nonaligned nations scheduled for September would be held in Baghdad despite the hostilities with Iran, according to the Iraqi news agency. Both Iran and Iraq are members of the 94-nation nonaligned movement which is

an accurate reflection of what is happening in their capitals. Perhaps it's just that this is not seen as the appropriate place to raise this particular issue."

One member of the Security Council interpreted the apparently mild reaction as an effort to mollify or at least not to alienate Iran.

"We want to leave a little door open," he said, "so if at some point there is an opportunity for negotiations,

we will be open to that."

Egypt Demands Puffout

CAIRO (Reuters) — Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Ali of Egypt, in a message to Israel's foreign minister, Yitzhak Shamir, demanded Sunday that Israel withdraw its troops immediately from Lebanon, the official Middle East News Agency said.

In the message, handed to Israel's ambassador, Moshe Seesin, Mr. Ali said Israeli action in Lebanon



A Lebanese invalid rolls his wheelchair from East Beirut to West Beirut along a road closed to motor traffic by Israel and marked by holes dug by Palestinians for the quick placement of mines.

Lebanese Refugee Center Facing 'State of Chaos' as Food Runs Out

By Marvin Howe
New York Times Service

BAALBEK, Lebanon — The main refugee relief center for eastern Lebanon is out of food.

"We have to admit we're in a state of chaos," said the chief of the center, Ali Kanaan. "The refugees are hungry and impatient, and all we have to give them is cooking oil and soap."

Mr. Kanaan, a Lebanese government official, said international aid is needed desperately.

As he spoke, a crowd of angry refugees banged on the doors of the center demanding food, milk and medicine. The day before, refugees broke into the center's storeroom and, enraged at finding it empty, accused the relief workers of stealing the goods.

Total Put at 100,000

An estimated 100,000 Lebanese and Palestinians have fled to the Baalbek area to get away from the fighting in southern Lebanon and in Beirut, according to Mr. Kanaan.

"We are urging people to go home, because if the Israelis stay we will have a Lebanese refugee problem, like the Palestinian problem," he said. He added that so far only about 1,000 Lebanese and Palestinian families have returned to southern Lebanon, while more and more people are coming from the Beirut area.

Dina Sabi, a Unicef representative who came here to look into the refugees' needs, said, "The situation is very serious, because most of the refugees are women and children who fled here without any belongings, and so they need everything."

Unicef's center for emergency operations in Damascus has already sent two convoys to Baalbek with soap, water purifiers, medicine, blankets, tents and baby food, and the International Committee of the Red Cross has provided medical supplies and some food.

Whatever has been sent, however, is clearly not enough and the situation among the refugees is tense.

Food Is Dispatched

In Damascus, Richard Gautier, head of the delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross, said six truckloads of food from Saudi Arabia were sent to the Baalbek relief center Thursday.

"Things are getting under control and we expect the real needs of the refugees to be covered by the end of the month," Mr. Gautier said. He emphasized, however, that if the fighting gets worse in the Beirut area, there will certainly be a major influx of refugees to Baalbek.

In one school, 22 Lebanese families from the Beirut area are living in difficult conditions. None of them has enough blankets or mattresses. Ibrahim Shamash, a municipal employee, was given only two small four-rubber mattresses and five blankets for his family of 12.

A group of 20 Palestinian families lodged in an unfinished three-story building are in worse condition. "We need everything — but mostly blankets, because it gets so cold here at night," said Sobieh Aladie, 22, who was breast-feeding her 10-day-old baby. She and her three other children came three weeks ago when the Israelis invaded Damur, a Palestinian settlement south of Beirut. The family is camped on the bare concrete with protection from the cold.

There is a militant atmosphere in the Palestinian camp on the outskirts of

Once Unthinkable, 'Launch Under Attack' Nuclear Strategy Is Being Discussed

By James Mohr
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The concept of "launch under attack" is a nuclear war strategy that to many is anathema ranking not far behind pre-emptive war. But for a supposedly unthinkable idea, it has been much discussed of late.

In recent months, a number of important defense policy reports in the United States have contained scores of references to firing some nuclear missiles after getting electronic warning that enemy missiles are on their way. Last week, the Soviet Union hinted that it might embrace such a policy.

A principal argument against the strategy was succinctly put by Fred C. Ikle, now the undersecretary of defense for policy, in testimony before the House Armed Services Committee three years ago:

"Any witness should come here and tell you that a totally reliable and safe launch-on-warning posture can be designed and imple-

mented," he said, "that man is a fool." Last week, Mr. Ikle said he still regards launch under attack as "hair trigger and irresponsible."

Last week the Soviet defense minister, Dimitri Ustinov, issued a statement criticizing U.S. military planning and hinting that the Russians might adopt launch under attack.

Richard L. Garwin, a physicist and defense consultant to several administrations and perhaps the leading American advocate of launch under attack, said that the modern liquid fuels employed by the Kremlin are no obstacle to keeping missiles fueled at all times, a requirement of launch under attack.

"Strategic warning," which depends to a considerable extent on satellite sensors, might give evidence that the Soviet Union is preparing missiles and other weapons for possible war. Few, if any, responsible officials have advocated launch on strategic warning — which is only another way of describing preemptive attack.

Launch under tactical warning that missiles have been fired is relatively simple in theory. If land-based intercontinental missiles are highly vulnerable to destruction by Soviet missiles, as 1,000 U.S. Minuteman are said to be, some of them could presumably be fired during approximately 30 minutes of flight time required for Soviet missiles.

A complicating factor is that submarine-launched missiles aimed at officials such as the president might arrive within 10 minutes. Launch under attack is therefore sometimes advocated as a solution to the possible threat of "nuclear decapitation" of U.S. leadership.

Accidental War

A report by an advisory panel on MX missile basing, published recently by the congressional Office of Technology Assessment, said necessary upgrading of satellite and radar warning systems and of command, control, communications and intelligence systems to a

launch-under-attack status would require several years and billions of dollars. The panel, however, believes that the cost would be significantly less than required for other methods of protecting and basing MX missiles.

One worry is that technical failures could strikingly increase the possibility of accidental nuclear war. The congressional study said no matter how much money and ingenuity are devoted to safeguards, there would always remain the possibility of accidental nuclear war.

In a 1980 article in International Security, Mr. Garwin argued that launch under attack seems to present no more hazard of unauthorized or accidental nuclear firings than does the present system in which the entire Minuteman force can be fired in a very short time by a personal order.

He contends that the problem of unauthorized firing could be addressed by cryptographic systems, borrowed from modern message-

security systems, which prevent enemy interference with command systems and mechanically prevent the arming and release of U.S. weapons without a firing code fed into the mechanism.

Mr. Garwin wrote that the probability of accidental launch can be calculated as the number of errant signals per year times the likelihood that any one will be interpreted as a real firing code. The expected number of accidental signals is less than one per year, caused by lightning, electrical noises or the like, but he argues that if 1,000 per minute were received, "the pure-chance firing of the missiles would shorten the average human life by less than 0.1 seconds."

The statement is based on Mr. Garwin's mathematical estimate that an accidental firing is likely to occur only once in 100 million years.

Many others believe that the dangers of

technical failure or accident are either higher or unknown. Moreover, there has been speculation about the problems that might arise if either superpower found it possible to blind the other side's warning sensors.

In the esoteric language of nuclear strategy, this might give "warning by loss of warning."

One of the most impalatable aspects of launch under attack is that the president's role would only be to endorse the claim of the senators that an attack was under way.

Some conservatives strongly oppose launch under attack because it is an unsatisfactory substitute to expensive plans to develop survivable bases.

The increasing official emphasis in the last year of the Carter administration and so far in the Reagan administration on seeking to develop the ability to fight protracted and controlled nuclear war is not compatible with an administration seriously considering the policy of launch under attack.

Weinberger's Deputy Aims to End Bickering Among Armed Forces

By Richard Halloran
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger looked out over the graduating class at the Naval War College in Newport, R.I., last month, and said, "I see sprinkled among you many wearing different shades of dark blue, white, olive green and light blue uniforms as well as several in civilian attire."

"That is as it should be," he said. "Neither the Navy nor any other service is ever going to war by itself. In peace and in war, military objectives can be achieved only by joint planning and operations that integrate all combat arms."

It was all very pleasant, but behind his words lay impatience, according to senior officials in the Defense Department. Mr. Weinberger and, particularly, Frank C. Carlucci, deputy secretary of defense, are becoming increasingly upset with squabbling among the armed forces.

Mr. Carlucci, according to the officials, is leading a crackdown. He is dealing personally with the secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force, and he has ordered the new chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. John W. Vessey, to get the military chiefs to pull together.

Fighting for Resources

The problem is endemic. Gen. David C. Jones, the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs, who advocates more authority for his successors to help overcome the bickering, said on his last day in office, "We spent a lot of time fighting for resources."

A civilian official agreed: "There was less of that when the budget was expanding. There's going to be more of it now that the budget is tightening."

When Mr. Carlucci came to the Pentagon, he reorganized the Defense Resources Board, a small group that decided on weapons acquisitions, into a Pentagon executive committee to coordinate strategy and budgets. He appointed the service secretaries to the board and invited the chiefs of staff to join the debate when issues concerning their services came up.

The Army traditionally favors

joint operations since it is the service most dependent on other services. It must, for instance, rely on the Navy for transport and on the Air Force for tactical air support. Pentagon officials say that was one reason for Gen. Vessey's being chosen chairman of the Joint Chiefs.

Coordinating Plans

The Navy, on the other hand, has generally resisted joint ventures and has been a particular target for Mr. Carlucci. The classified five-year plan known as Defense Guidance, says, "Navy force planning must include more utilization, when appropriate, of other service capabilities." It specifically cites integrating Air Force radar warning and control planes with Navy forces at sea.

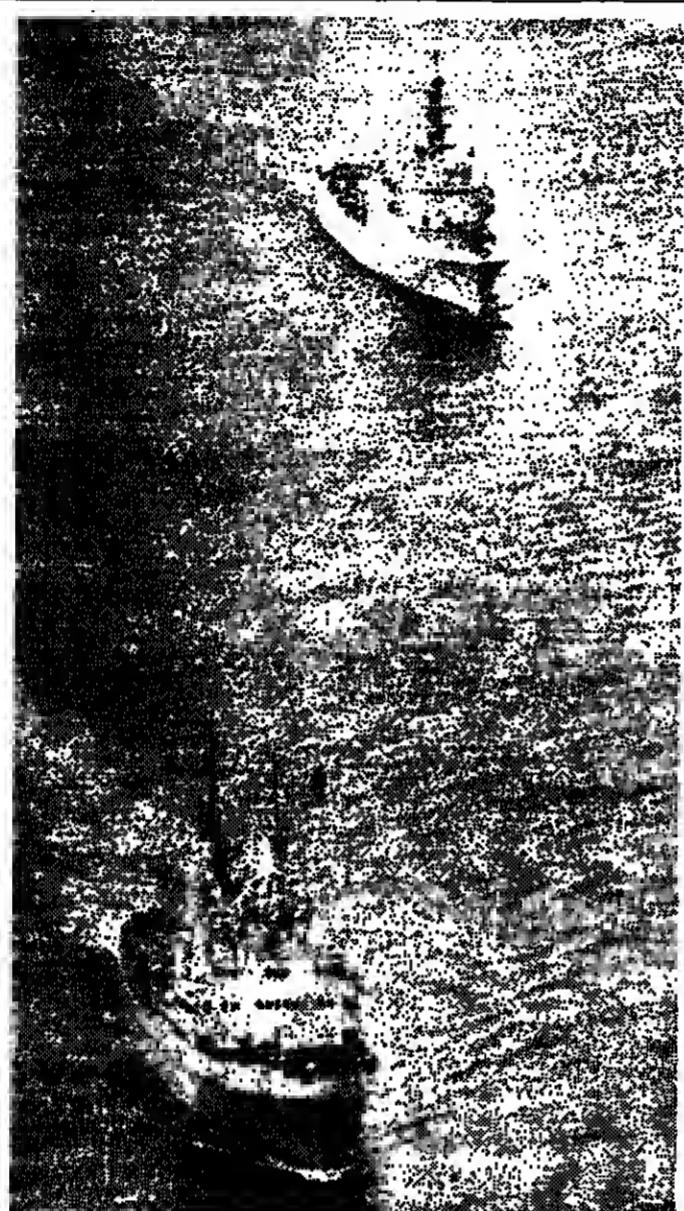
The guidance goes on to say, "The ability of the Navy to contribute to land campaigns with long-range cruise missile and sea-based tactical aircraft and amphibious forces needs to be factored into the combined arms planning."

For the Air Force, the guidance orders new roles in defending sea lanes. For instance, it says, "The Air Force should employ fighter forces and surveillance systems to defend Iceland and support the defense of the North Atlantic lanes of communication." Long-range bombers, when armed with missiles, are also ordered to attack enemy naval bases.

In Navy-Air Force discussions, however, Air Force officers have confided that they lack weapons to attack ships and Navy officers have wondered whether they can count on the bombers.

The Defense Guidance instructs the Army and Air Force to develop intelligence, communications and weapons on the ground "that can be directed at Warsaw Pact second-echelon targets, with emphasis on countering and destroying the highly concentrated Pact command and control structure and major formations and bases."

For the future, the Defense Guidance instructs the Army and Air Force to cooperate on weapons for electronic warfare, such as jammers. The Navy and Air Force are to develop an advanced fighter engine by fiscal year 1987. The Army and Navy are to work on a new turboprop engine.



SPY TAIL — The Canadian destroyer Saskatchewan followed the Soviet spy ship Gavril Sarychev in international waters Friday near the mouth of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The first U.S. Trident nuclear submarine is due to arrive soon at a base near the strait, which separates Canada's Vancouver Island from the state of Washington.

Attorney General Calls Amnesty Plan Costly

By Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration warned Congress last week that a Senate plan to grant amnesty to millions of illegal aliens could cost more than \$10 billion in new state and federal welfare costs over the next four years.

"At a time when we are facing necessary cutbacks in welfare programs for our citizens, such extraordinary added costs to provide benefits to former illegal aliens cannot be justified," Attorney General William French Smith said.

His warning was made in a letter on July 11 to Sen. Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The bill's sponsor, Sen. Alan K. Simpson, Republican of Wyoming, told the Senate that the figures "seriously distorted" it.

"I told her I knew where her bedroom was because I'd been into the palace once before. She seemed really surprised at that."

"I told her I knew where her bedroom was because I'd been into the palace once before. She seemed really surprised at that."

"I felt I had nothing to lose so I said, 'I think you ought to do something about your security here because it's diabolical. Any one can walk in if they want to.'"

The House version of the bill limits the entry date for amnesty to 1980, and thus covers only about 2.7 million aliens.

Mr. Simpson said that Senate Majority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr., Republican of Tennessee, promised that the bill would be brought to the Senate floor before the Labor Day recess. It also includes controversial identity provisions to make it illegal in the future to hire undocumented aliens.

In the letter, Mr. Smith said that he feared the Senate bill's legalization terms would encourage more illegal migration. He suggested a "more gradual and much less costly" \$1-billion alternative.

Because of cost and privacy concerns, the attorney general also said, the administration opposed the idea of a national identity system embodied in the bill.

Mr. Torres said the administration's \$10 billion figure — \$6.3 billion in federal and \$3.9 billion in state and local costs — ignores the provision in the bill that requires legalized aliens to show they won't be "public charges."

Mr. Simpson said the administration figures were distorted because they assumed the legalized aliens would use welfare and other social services at the same high rate as refugees. About 71 percent of the refugees in the United States are now dependent on government social services, he said.

Another 3.6 million who arrived before Jan. 1, 1982, would become temporary residents, eligible for only a few benefits. But they would become permanent residents and thus eligible for the major federal benefit programs.

The report, accompanying the bill, used Congressional Budget Office figures that estimated the legalized aliens would not use the welfare system any more than the general population.

Catholic Is Killed With Shot to Legs In Ulster Attack

LONDONDERRY, Northern Ireland — Hooded gunmen burst into a home and fatally wounded a Roman Catholic man in what appeared to have been an attempt at punishment that went wrong. "Your security here is diabolical."

The News of the World newspaper reported under a front-page headline "My Chat with Her Majesty" that the intruder, Michael Fagan, 30, sat on Queen Elizabeth's bed in the early hours of July 9 revealing his domestic troubles while she listened, propped up on pillows.

The newspaper quoted Mr.

Pioneer's Story.

LONDON (Reuters) — A

protester who climbed a Buckingham Palace drainpipe to slip into Queen Elizabeth's bedroom was quoted Sunday as telling her, "Your security here is diabolical."

The News of the World newspaper reported under a front-page headline "My Chat with Her Majesty" that the intruder, Michael Fagan, 30, sat on Queen Elizabeth's bed in the early hours of July 9 revealing his domestic troubles while she listened, propped up on pillows.

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Pioneer's Story.

SÃO PAULO — Two anthropologists trying to make contact with a remote tribe of Brazilian Indians are reported to have been kidnapped and speared to death.

Reports reaching São Paulo said

that the two men were attacked by

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Non-Caloric Fat Substitute Reported in U.S. But Doctor Says Product May Not Be Approved for Years

By Nicholas D. Kristof
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A fat substitute that contains no calories and is indistinguishable from the real thing was described Thursday by a University of Cincinnati medical team, which said that the substitute had helped very obese men lose almost half a pound a day.

But the experiment was conducted on only 10 men who used the substitute for only 20 days. The principal researcher, Dr. Charles J. Gueck, said that it could be years before the substance is available on the market.

The fat substitute, called sucrose polyester, can be used in milk shakes, in salad dressing, and in a spread that looks and tastes like margarine. Researchers said it could also be used as a cooking oil. "Patients literally can eat it, too," Dr. Gueck said.

A Sucrose Molecule

Sucrose polyester, which is not related to the polyester used in manufacturing clothes, consists of a sucrose molecule attached to a group of eight fatty acids. Dr. Gueck said the body does not know what to do with this peculiar combination, so the fat passes through it without being digested.

The medical team tested sucrose polyester on 10 men who were obese but did not have glandular disorders. For 20 days the men were fed regular foods and for 20 days they were fed foods with the fat substitute. Only some nutritionists — but neither the subjects nor the medical researchers — knew when the sucrose polyester was in the food.

In an article in the American Journal of Clinical Nutrition, Dr. Gueck and his colleagues said eight of the 10 subjects could not

tell when they were eating foods with fat and when with sucrose polyester.

The men were given the chance to eat snacks — brownies, potato chips, chocolate chip cookies and jelly beans — if they felt hungry. However, they did not eat more snacks when they were on the substitute than when they were on fats.

Special Diet Period

In the special diet period, nutritionists each day substituted about two ounces (56 grams) of sucrose polyester for other fats in each person's food.

Much larger experiments, with many more people and lasting several months, are planned. But Dr. Gueck said it could be years before the Food and Drug Administration approves the substance.

Other experts in the field said the research was promising but noted that other fat substitutes are available for people who wish to count calories. Dr. George L. Blackburn of the Harvard Medical School said sucrose polyester probably has a future but emphasized that it is not a panacea for problems associated with fats in the diet.

A final test is to be submitted to a national referendum in November.

Turkey Issues Draft of New Constitution

The Associated Press

ANKARA — The draft of the new Turkish constitution, made public Saturday, calls for a strong president and a powerful executive branch. In Turkey's previous constitution, the president had only a ceremonial role and the real power rested with the premier.

The constitution would impose restrictions on press freedom and rule out the establishment of a Communist, fascist or theocratic order in Turkey, which has a predominantly Moslem population.

Ottoman Alidikici, chairman of the 15-member Constitutional Commission that prepared the draft, said, "We tried to write a constitution that would bring the law and order desired by the nation."

Under the proposed constitution, the president, to be elected by the parliament for a seven-year term, could dismiss the premier and demand emergency powers, subject to parliamentary approval, in times of crisis to legislate by decree.

In an article in the American Journal of Clinical Nutrition, Dr. Gueck and his colleagues said eight of the 10 subjects could not

400 legislators elected for five-year terms, instead of the bicameral parliament, which existed under the constitution of 1961.

On press freedom, the draft of the constitution requires that publishers and editors be held responsible for reports that threaten "state security and unity of the nation," incite people to rebellion or spread "inaccurate and untimely" reports that could affect the nation's economy.

Five generals overthrew the civilian government 22 months ago. They have pledged to return Turkey to civilian rule through elections to be held by the spring of 1984.

As a first step, in November

6 Die in Swiss Train Crash

The Associated Press

OTHEMARSINGEN, Switzerland — Six persons were killed and 59 were injured early Sunday when a freight train slammed broadside into an overnight passenger train here that was bound for the Adriatic coast from West Germany, Swiss authorities said.

The new constitution calls for a one-house national assembly of

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The Palestinian Refugees

From THE WASHINGTON POST:

What about the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon? To ensure that no PLO guns return to the border zone, the Israeli largely leveled six camps housing at least 20,000 refugees, and they are keeping the former inhabitants from returning. Further north, Israeli officials are resisting setting up tents to shelter Palestinians displaced by the June 6 invasion, lest new permanent camps again grow. In the Lebanon who also object to a Palestinian presence, they see a possible partner with whom perhaps to remove the whole Palestinian refugee population from Lebanon — several hundred thousand people.

On one level the Israelis have a point. Over the years, the Arab states have played on the nationalistic passions of the Palestinian refugees of 1948 and have held refugee camps open in order to keep the Palestinian-Arab grievance against Israel raw. Far larger numbers of refugees have been absorbed elsewhere. Relatively few of the refugees in the camps in Lebanon and elsewhere, not to speak of Palestinians who live productive lives in the diaspora, could be absorbed in the West Bank and Gaza even if those areas became a Palestinian homeland today.

As a nation at war, Israel can hardly be expected to cooperate in maintaining refugee camps. These camps symbolize and perpetuate the Palestinian grievance, spawn hate and provide breeding and training grounds for guerrillas. The camp in southern Lebanon, furthermore, helped the PLO to fire guns and deploy raiders directly against Israel.

There is nonetheless something profoundly troubling and wrong about Israel's approach to the refugees in Lebanon. The degree of Israel's responsibility for their or their forebears' first displacement from Israel in 1948 is not clear, but no one has given the Israelis a right to march across a border and sweep many of them within Lebanon, or conceivably from Lebanon, a second time.

Ideally, the terms of the refugees' life in Lebanon would be established and enforced

by the Lebanese government. Even before Lebanon's civil war of the mid-1970s, however, the Beirut government lacked the means to regulate the refugee flow and presence. Reconstituting a government is now a priority project; our successes will be at best slow in coming. That puts a difficult burden upon Israel as the effective power in the southern half of Lebanon: As long as it is in charge, it must demonstrate a humane respect for the civilian Palestinian victims of the latest turmoil. To be sure, the distinction between civilians and combatants is not easily made in the camps, where 13-year-old boys are known to give to Kalashnikovs. On Israel's success in making the distinction, however, a considerable part of its standing elsewhere will ride.

It remains urgent that authority in the parts of Lebanon swept by Israel be restored to Lebanese authorities, first to local ones and then, as fast as they are constituted, to national ones. In the interim, a new role awaits the United Nations peacekeeping units in southern Lebanon. Against determined PLO and Israeli forces they could not hold the line. But since the PLO as a military force has been reduced to a core group now negotiating its departure from Beirut, UNIFIL should henceforth be capable of doing a proper border-police job. Without a PLO threat in southern Lebanon, Israel could have no possible reason to stay there.

The immediate answer to the plight of the refugees is for them to be sheltered and cared for under conditions posing no security threat to Lebanese or Israelis, wherever the space and facilities are available. Certainly they should not be hustled and hounded and deprived of shelter by Israeli soldiers. The middle-term answer is for a Lebanese government worthy of the name to take the responsibility of a sovereign state for all people residing on its territory. The long-term answer to the problem of the refugees, in Lebanon and elsewhere, lies in a political settlement that allows the camps — and the grievance and wound that they embody — to dry up.

Starting Over at State

From THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The Reagan administration now has a secretary of state who knows his president and also the ways of Washington. On the path to unanimous Senate confirmation, George Shultz never once crowded his leader, ruffled Congress or misled other governments. In the place of the temperamental General Haig sits a confident, impressive diplomat.

But even Shultz does not really know how well he understands the world in which he suddenly finds himself, and he has less time to learn than any American foreign minister in memory. He joins a disorganized foreign policy team that has asserted too many ambitions without making hard choices. It has wanted both arms control and military supremacy. It has wanted strong allies and economic policies that injure them. It has wanted alliance with Israelis and Arabs without facing the problems between them. It has wanted Third World friendships and stability without paying much for them.

This term is too far gone for many creative new starts. And, as Henry Kissinger wrote, "The most difficult task for any secretary of state is to impose a sense of direction ... Even someone who, like me, had spent his lifetime on the study of foreign policy — and whose hobby it was, to boot — was sometimes overwhelmed." To leave his mark, George Shultz needs to choose a few targets of opportunity. An obvious one is the Middle East, where he has been shrewd and quick. The most critical area is arms control, about which he has much to learn.

To the bargaining over Lebanon Shultz's first comments contributed a wise concern for "a central reality" — the fate of the Pales-

tinians. He offered to be an energetic partner in defining the rights of those who favor coexistence with Israel, and he signaled resistance to the Begin government's annexation of the West Bank. These views are not notable because they mark a change in policy; Shultz held firmly to the principles, even the language, that Israel, Egypt and the United States proclaimed at Camp David. But he was finally assuming Washington's responsibility for the "full autonomy" promised to Palestinians. And by thus forcing the pace of diplomacy, he may greatly strengthen moderates in Israel and the region.

Comparable activism could invigorate the strategic arms negotiations with the Soviet Union, but on this subject Shultz clung hesitantly to his president's ambiguities.

He repeated the misleading claim that "we stood still" during a decade of Soviet military buildup. He spoke of arms control as "inevitably linked" to Soviet conduct. He blamed "diminished American strength" for Soviet expansion — without reckoning whether Afghanistan or Poland were Soviet gains and without factoring in China and the Middle East. Shultz has a humanist's appreciation of the risks of war. He is, by profession, a conciliator. But to stabilize the Soviet-American rivalry he will have to challenge the clichés in his military briefing papers, develop personal ties to the Soviet leaders and persuade the White House to let him assert workable strategies for arms control and trade.

If intelligence and temperament count, Reagan has a promising recruit. What would count even more would be for the president to recognize at last how badly he needs to let someone take charge of diplomacy.

Other Editorial Opinion

The Challenge for Begin

whatever may be said for or against the scale of the invasion by Israel of Lebanon, it has already had important consequences for the future of the area.

First, it has devasted, if not destroyed, the Palestine Liberation Organization as a military force. Because security, or fear of the lack of it, understandably underlies all Israeli thinking about a settlement with the Palestinians, this new situation should logically increase the chances of that settlement. Second, there seems to have been some hard thinking within the PLO itself. In the past, hints have been dropped by its representatives in private, but no formal and public statement has ever been made: laying down the need to recognize Israel's right to exist. Last week a member of the PLO's National Council said publicly in London that the PLO conceded Israel's right to exist on a reciprocal basis in sovereignty and within secure borders.

For Israel now to admit the rights of the Palestinians to sovereignty and an end to Palestine return to part of what used to be Palestine

would be a supreme act of statesmanship. It would, moreover, be in keeping with the Camp David agreement, signed by Israel, which explicitly foresees recognition of "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements."

Compared with the more immediate problems of how to remove the remnants of the PLO from Beirut without blasting them out, and of where they should go, such a realignment of Israeli policy would be the most important development in Middle East politics for 30 years. Could and would Mt. Begin rise to the challenge?

— The Sunday Times (London).

The hope that Gaza and the West Bank will calm down once PLO pressure is relieved in the north may well prove unfounded, since second-class citizenship of a greater Israel is unlikely to be acceptable to many Arabs. But just as success in Sinai sowed the seeds of the Camp David agreement, so the Lebanon campaign just might lead to some kind of peace process in the north.

— Neue Zürcher Zeitung (Zurich).

JULY 19: FROM OUR PAGES 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1907: Hats Off to Hat-Lifting

PARIS — A reader writes: "An Austrian count is appealing to civilized society to abolish the hat-lifting salutation. If he lived in America or London he would not have to make this appeal. One of the great charms of Continental life is the hat-lifting politeness. How agreeable it is to have a Prime Minister or the butcher, whose bill you have not paid, salute you! In the first instance your friends think you are somebody and, in the second, that your credit is good. I remember how surprised my old chief was when I saluted him in that way on my arrival in Kalamazoo from Paris. Don't seal your hat to your head, but salute with it on every occasion. Yours, Little Chief."

1932: Lippmann Answers Hearst

NEW YORK — Answering the charges of William Randolph Hearst that the Lausanne conference was a crooked conspiracy by European confidence-men bent on robbing the United States," Walter Lippmann of the New York Herald Tribune replied that Hearst is not "big enough" to criticize Europe. "Hearst accuses European debtors," he said on the radio, "of conspiring to demand cancellation of their debts. There is no foundation whatsoever for the charge. What is being discussed is a lump sum cash payment to replace payments for the next 56 years. I believe the American people are more interested in real money next winter than in stage money for their grandchildren."

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Ideas to Help Break Nuclear Deadlock

From Pugwash, 1982: Objective Spies in the Sky

By Flora Lewis

PUGWASH, Nova Scotia — There has been a strange cycle of public indifference to and militant activity against the dangers of nuclear arms since the first two were dropped.

Distressed at the world's failure to understand, Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein issued a dramatic manifesto in 1955. It led to a 1957 meeting of top scientists from East and West at the boyhood home of Cyrus Eaton, the industrialist who died in 1979. Thus was founded the Pugwash Conference.

For its 25th anniversary, the conference is here again. The two signatories of the Russell-Einstein document still alive, Linus Pauling and Joseph Rothblat, noted that all those years, marches and United Nations conferences later, the threat is greater than ever.

And people are stirring again. The peace movement has never had broader support. Once again, East-West relations are cold and angry. The United States and the Soviet Union are talking in Geneva about bracing the arms race, but are sustaining it at home.

Time is running out on even the chance of arms control, the scientists say, because science has made possible new weapons so much more accurate, so much faster and harder to detect that agreements may become meaningless.

There is not much point in calling for trust.

If there were trust, there would be no need for verifiable agreements, and no excuse for having atomic weapons at all.

Nor has public pressure yet brought tangible results. The words are there, but who can really know what they mean?

Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev announced a unilateral freeze on deployment of SS-20s after the program was virtually complete. A few months later the United States said a number of additional Soviet missiles had been deployed facing Western Europe. Moscow said this was a lie. There has been no explanation.

The same problem weakens the call for an American pledge of "no first use" of any atomic weapon, such as Brezhnev has proclaimed. How can you tell, until it's too late?

Pauling, a twinkly-eyed veteran of declarations for disarmament supported by fellow Nobel laureates, urged a unilateral freeze on all nuclear arms by both the United States and the Soviet Union until they get around to a binding treaty. But nobody has defined the proposal. The United States would presumably abandon not only the MX, and all Cruise missiles and Pershings in Europe, but also planned Trident submarines and Minuteman improvements.

One of the most hopeful ideas engaging some

of the Pugwash scientists is what Australia's Sir Mark Oliphant calls "technological spying" by the middle powers. A lot of countries are now advanced enough to compete with the United States and Russia in monitoring preparations for war if they pool scientific and economic resources, although none could do it alone.

A group including delegates from Canada, Australia, France, Britain, West Germany, Japan, Austria and Sweden is to meet in October to work on further details, already set out in an experts' report to the United Nations. The European satellite launcher Ariane would put their own spies in the sky.

The United States has opposed the idea on the grounds that ambiguous intelligence could be politically abused to confound the world even more. Given experience, Washington has a point if it is to be a UN operation. But the countries capable of participating could set up their own structure. An objective (which doesn't mean neutral) verification of superpower agreements and menacing moves would go a long way toward easing the question of what to believe. Then unilateral restraints could be monitored and the argument of balance better judged. It is something concrete to do quickly, worth more than talk.

The New York Times.

The Palme Commission: Reagan Might Concur

By Stephen S. Rosefield

WASHINGTON — In the 1970s,

complement of Third World figures. Could the recommendations of a 1970s group like this would carry much weight in a U.S. political environment dominated by Reagan-style conservatives? A group rather like it exists. It is called the European peace commission. So it was that on the eve of Ronald Reagan's election, a call went out to form such a commission on security and disarmament. Its purpose was to mobilize opinion against the hard-line currents that were rising in the United States.

This was the genesis of the commission, unofficially named for its chairman, former Swedish Premier Olof Palme. It included out-of-power Western liberals like Cyrus Vance and former British Foreign Secretary David Owen, neutrals like Palme, leftists like West Germany's Egon Bahr, Communists like the Kremlin's Georgi Arbatov and former Polish Premier Jozef Cyrankiewicz, and a

complement of Third World figures. Could the recommendations of a 1970s group like this would carry much weight in a U.S. political environment dominated by Reagan-style conservatives? A group rather like it exists. It is called the European peace commission. So it was that on the eve of Ronald Reagan's election, a call went out to form such a commission on security and disarmament. Its purpose was to mobilize opinion against the hard-line currents that were rising in the United States.

Why did a former U.S. secretary of state take part, at the risk of assisting the Soviet Union in a propaganda exercise? After talking with Cyrus Vance, I think the answer is that out of office he is working for the same things he worked for in office.

He shows regret that the proposals for deep cuts in strategic arms that he took to Moscow early in the Carter years overloaded the Soviet circuit. He is determined to redeem the error by supporting a form of the Reagan deep-cut proposal (separation of its first and second phases) and by working in the Palme commission.

Vance believes, as did Carter, that what unites men of different countries and ideologies — be those men Republican or Russian — is more important than what divides them. A striving for peace and a fear of war unite them. Vance wants to validate this core belief of 1970s liberalism. I think he came out pretty well.

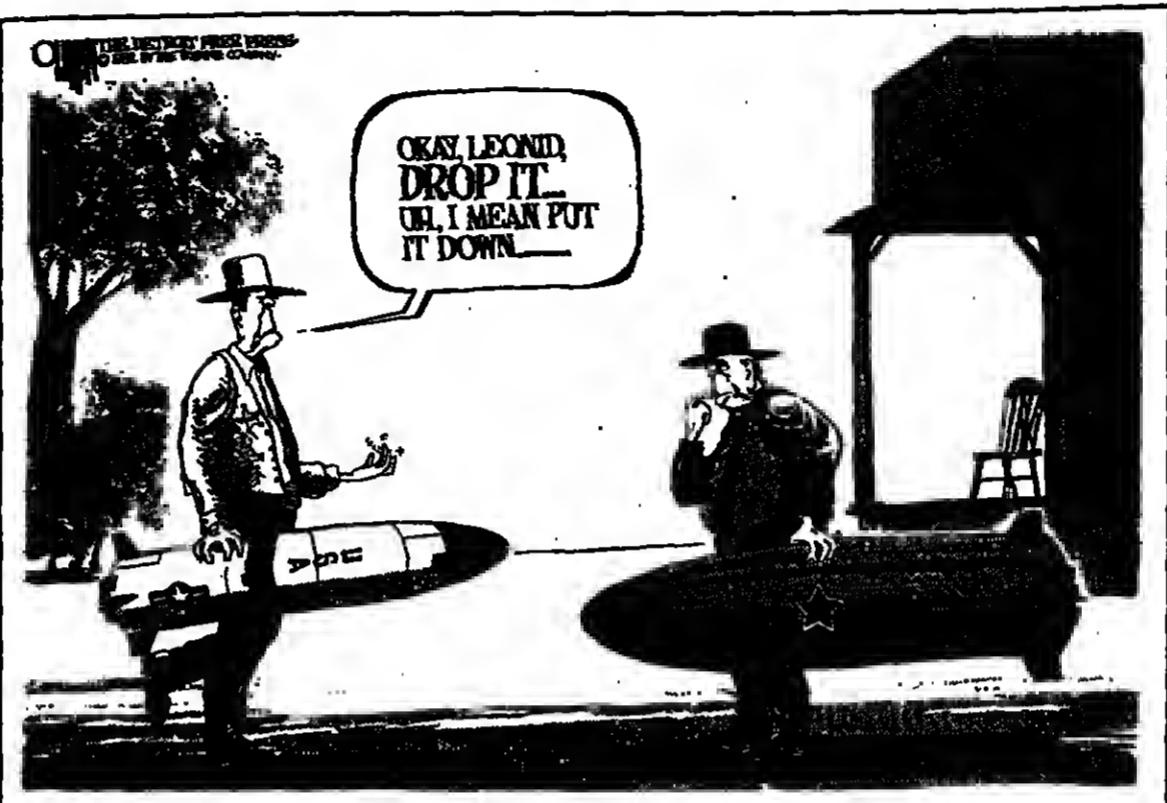
Look, for instance, at the pride of the commission's 30 or 40 recommendations, its proposal to move battlefield nuclear weapons away from the immediate East-West border areas so that, in an invasion, these weapons would not be lost or fired in haste.

My first reaction was that here was a typically fraudulent "peace" proposal meant to unstring the nuclear tripwire that is central to Western deterrence. Since it is only the Soviets who conceivably could cross the line, this proposal would seemingly assure them of a nuclear-free probe or grab of the border zone. It would increase instability and the threat of war.

But the Palme commission's thinking reflects the long-time aspirations of conservative American planners. They have feared that in a crisis those up-close nuclear weapons could force a president to go nuclear, or to devolve firing authority to a lower level, before he really wanted to. Better, by this logic, to hold outside the border zone the sorts of nuclear weapons that afford a president the time and control to respond to a Soviet attack on his own terms.

It is therapeutic to see that Western liberals such as Vance and Owen could spend a year and a half working with neutrals, leftists and Communists and come out promoting some ideas that Ronald Reagan might take as his own.

The Washington Post.



A Nuclear-Weapon-Free Buffer in Europe?

By John Edwards

The writer was research secretary for the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues.

their analyses which give a rough idea of what the use of these military weapons might entail.

In 1955 a military exercise code-named Sage Bush was held in Louisiana simulating the use of 275 weapons ranging from two to 40 kilotons. Detailed results were not released, but it was concluded that the destruction was so great that no such thing as limited or purely tactical nuclear war was possible in such an area.

In the same year a second exercise, code-named Carte Blanche, was undertaken in Western Europe itself. In this case the use of 355 nuclear weapons was simulated, 80 percent of them on German territory. In terms of immediate damage in German casualties alone, and so excluding the victims of radiation disease and other secondary effects, it was estimated that between 1.5 and 1.7 million died and 3.5 million more were wounded.

As a result of this exercise, Helmut Schmidt stated that the use of tactical nuclear weapons "will not defend Europe, but would only seem to threaten major loss of NATO territory or forces."

The commission acknowledged the difficulties inherent in its proposal. But, then, when have arms control agreements ever been easy to reach?

Would the problems posed by any greater than those encountered in Vienna at the force reduction talks?

The main aim of disarmament is to prevent nuclear war. The priority must therefore be to inhibit the use of those weapons likely to trigger a full-scale nuclear war, or, at a minimum, devastate Europe.

As David Owen puts it in his introduction to the British edition of the report: "The significance of this proposal is that it tackles at the root the very doctrine of limited nuclear war.

By removing the weapons, it reduces substantially the chance of the early use of nuclear weapons."

Yet the superpowers look on the idea with disfavor. Do they know something we don't?

homeland. In this context, many observers believe that the current inventory of battlefield nuclear weapons is far in excess of either political or military requirements.

The Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies have not only integrated battlefield nuclear delivery vehicles into units at



Eva Nordlund, left, a Norwegian organizer of Peace March-82, joins hands with Nina Terekhova, an official of the Leningrad chapter of the official Soviet peace committee. Peace March-82, with members from throughout Scandinavia, and Soviet citizens held a rally Sunday in Leningrad.

2 Soviet Dissidents Reported Held As Foreigners Hold Peace March

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MOSCOW — Authorities have jailed two members of Moscow's only independent anti-nuclear group in an effort to deny them contact with Scandinavian peace marchers, a member said Sunday. The 200 Scandinavians, members of Peace March-82, staged an anti-nuclear parade Sunday morning in Leningrad.

Yuri Medvedkov and Yuri Khromopov were arrested Friday, tried and sentenced to 15 days in jail on a charge of hooliganism, Oleg Medvedkov said.

The couple and Mr. Khromopov are members of an 11-person nonofficial peace committee which has been harassed by Soviet authorities since its founding in May.

Mrs. Medvedkov said, "Doubtless this matter was fabricated against two members of the peace group; two professors, to isolate them from the peace march." Four original members of the group

have been granted exit visas and another one was put under house arrest.

The sentence means the two men will be in jail until the Scandinavian peace demonstrators, in the Soviet Union on an official visit, have left the country.

During the Leningrad march, clusters of Soviet citizens held out flowers and waved specially printed "peace march" flags along the three-mile (five-kilometer) route the Scandinavian marchers followed to a central park.

There, more than 1,000 Russians joined them by bus, and they staged a joint rally. Many of the Russians carried placards protesting U.S. arms policy and condemning the neutron bomb.

A war veteran addressing the crowd that joined the peace marchers, referring to a statement by President Leonid I. Brezhnev, urged that "governments of other nuclear powers follow Brezhnev's

recent pledge to refrain from the first use of nuclear weapons. Such actions would create a reliable barrier against nuclear war."

A Swedish correspondent accompanying the marchers said, "The general attitude of the Scandinavians was disappointment that they could not march farther, that there were so many police around, that it seemed to be an organized rather than a spontaneous event."

Some of the Scandinavians are grumbling that their itinerary is dominated by sightseeing, with very little contact with Soviet citizens or officials except for representatives of the state-sanctioned peace committee, the correspondent said.

The marchers, from Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, are scheduled to begin a five-day visit to Moscow on Wednesday. They are scheduled to conduct demonstrations similar to the one in Leningrad in Moscow, Minsk, Kalinin and Smolensk.

Left-Wingers in Schmidt's Party Attacking His Policies, Character

By John Vincor
New York Times Service

BONN — Leading members of the left wing of the Social Democratic Party have published a series of unusual public and personal attacks on Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

The vehemence of the accusations seems to indicate both what the attackers regard as the chancellor's growing political fragility and their interest in positioning themselves advantageously for the post-Schmidt era.

The reproaches came from Oskar Lafontaine, the mayor of Saarbrücken and a member of the party's national executive committee.

Günther Gaus, who was Mr. Schmidt's chief representative in East Berlin until he was relieved in 1980, and Johannes Strasser, a party theoretician.

The left wing of the party has been consistently contemptuous of what it sees as Mr. Schmidt's insufficiently socialist approach and his support of NATO defense policy, but it had refrained from direct personal attacks.

Conqueror Is Clear

Mr. Gaus, in an article, blamed Mr. Schmidt for eliminating all chances of victory in the national elections in 1984. He said the chancellor had made intolerable compromises with the Social Democrats' coalition partner, the Free Democrats, to stay in power. With clear contempt, Mr. Gaus asked if Mr. Schmidt were a "Helmut von Papen" — a reference to Franz von Papen, a chancellor in the Weimar Republic regarded by historians as having helped open the

way for the Nazi takeover of power.

One of Mr. Gaus's attacks was doubly insulting. He not only wrote that Mr. Schmidt is a man without principle but also suggested that the chancellor appears to be re-thinking his allegiance to the NATO decision to deploy U.S. Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles at the end of 1983 if talks with the Soviet Union in Geneva are not successful.

Mr. Lafontaine recommended in the article that "the Social Democrats get out of the government in Bonn. The way things are, the party's regeneration is only possible in the opposition."

The criticism was carried further in the party newspaper, Vorwärts, by Mr. Strasser, who said that the coalition is ruining itself and behaving as a protector of the privileged in West Germany.

"The truth is," he said, "that the coalition was a sunny-day coalition. It functioned only by high economic growth rates."

Statements Cause Uproar

Mr. Lafontaine, 38, is a vigorous campaigner against the NATO missile decision. His criticisms of Mr. Schmidt caused a furor.

In an article in Stern magazine, Mr. Lafontaine was quoted as having said: "Helmut Schmidt keeps on talking about feelings of dutifulness, calculability, practicability and steadfastness."

"Those are secondary values. Said very precisely: You could run a concentration camp with them. Those are secondary values that you reach for when you haven't come to terms with what it's all about, that is, the preservation of life."

Mr. Lafontaine said later that the remark "has nothing to do with the chancellor" and that it was made in a discussion of a book.

Party Rebated

One of Mr. Schmidt's closest party and parliamentary allies, Egon Franke, who is minister for Inter-German Relations, reacted

U.S. Approves Export of System For Argentine Nuclear Facility

By Milton R. Benjamin
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration, in a move that has seriously undercut the longtime U.S. effort to bring pressure on Argentina to put all its nuclear program under international safeguards, has authorized export of a computerized control system for a "sensitive" facility crucial to that country's aim of nuclear independence.

The approval of the sale by the Foxboro Company of Foxboro, Mass., of a process control system that will become the "brain" of a large heavy water plant was granted even though U.S. nuclear cooperation with Buenos Aires has been cut off because of Argentina's refusal to accept safeguards on all its atomic facilities.

A heavy water plant is classified as sensitive technology because it is the critical element in one route to production of materials that could be used in nuclear bombs.

Carter Policy Reversed

The administration's decision marked a dramatic reversal of the policies of the Carter administration, which made a major effort to pressure Switzerland into refusing to sell Argentina the heavy water until it agreed to accept safeguards on all nuclear facilities.

Argentina's acquisition of such a plant, which is under construction at Armatto and expected to come on line in 1984, would appear to take on even more significance in light of remarks by Adm. Carlos

agreement calls for safeguards on the \$300-million plant.

The decision also would seem to suggest a willingness by the Reagan administration to exploit loopholes in the Nonproliferation Act since the Energy Department turned down a request by Masoneilan International, a subsidiary of McGraw Edison, to sell valves for a heavy water plant directly to Argentina.

Senior officials of Masoneilan and Foxboro agreed that the valves are a far less critical component than the process control system that runs them.

Rep. Jonathan R. Bingham, Democrat of New York, who has introduced legislation that would amend the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act to eliminate such loopholes, held hearings two weeks ago at which administration officials testified that they would soon announce a more restrictive nuclear export policy.

Rep. Bingham said last week, "If these changes are not carried out in such a way as to keep nuclear technology out of the hands of countries like Argentina that are bent on making nuclear weapons, then the only recourse is for Con-

gress to act to prohibit the

Soviet Fasters' Chances of Success Seem to Be Diminishing

By Serge Schmemann
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — Self-starvation by average Russians as a means of extracting visas from the Soviet Union may seem, at the least, ill-advised.

Neither Yuri V. Balovlenkov nor Sergei L. Petrov, now waging hunger strikes to gain permission to join their wives in the United States, have the international clout of an Andrei D. Sakharov. Besides, the Soviet government seems in no mood to appease the United States and is not given to philanthropic impulses.

The hunger strikes are dangerous and desperate. The two men may die; they may have done serious damage to their health already. But the extraordinary premium the Kremlin has placed on any passage across its borders and its sensitivity to international opinion have brought about all kinds of bids by those desperate to leave to bring their plight to the world's attention. Enough have succeeded to ensure there will be more, and more dramatic, attempts.

The results have been far from constant. While some "refuseniks" have won exit papers after striking up relationships with Westerners or becoming active in dissident campaigns, others, such as Viktor L. Brailovsky and Ida Nudel, have been punished with long stints in internal exile. The Pentecostals who took refuge in the U.S. Embassy four years ago are still there, despite reams of publicity.

The hunger strikers, however, have posed a different challenge to Soviet authorities. When Mr. Sa-

kharov, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, and his wife, Yelena Bonner, declared late last year that they would not eat until their young ward was allowed to emi-

NEWS ANALYSIS

grate, the authorities found no answer except to give way after 17 days. Once the ward, Liza Alexeyeva, was off to Boston to join her husband, it was only a matter of time before others seized on the tactic.

The attitude is as complex as the Soviet view of the outside world in general. There is the presumption that anyone who glimpses the glister of the West is likely to be permanently subverted. The corollary is an almost pathetic yearning by almost every Russian to travel abroad, coupled with a suspicion that anyone who wants to leave for good must be a traitor.

There is an old joke about the man who is asked what he would do if the borders were opened. "Climb a tree," he says. Why? "So as not to be trampled."

Family Is Reunited

MOSCOW (AP) — Hunger striker Sergei Petrov was reunited with his American wife Sunday in Moscow on the 47th day of his fast, the second such case in two days.

The two strikers vowed to continue their fast to the death, the

U.S. Embassy rejected the charges, and the showdown began.

But whatever happens to the two men, attempts by others seeking to leave for religious, ethnic,

political or personal reasons are certain to continue as long as the Soviet Union retains its attitudes toward travel.

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Elena, Yekaterina and Yuri Balovlenkov were together for the first time Sunday at Mr. Balovlenkov's apartment in Moscow.

Roanoke, Va., arrived in Moscow by commercial jetliner on a 10-day visa. A U.S. consul officer met her at the airport and drove her to Mr. Petrov's apartment in north Moscow.

The 29-year-old freelance photographer, who said he was too weak to go to the airport, vowed to continue his hunger strike until Soviet authorities allow him to emigrate to the United States. The couple met when she was a language stu-

dent in Moscow and married in 1981.

Another Soviet hunger striker, Yuri Balovlenkov, 33, spent his first full day Sunday with his 2-year-old daughter and American wife following their arrival Saturday in Moscow on a 10-day visa.

Mr. Balovlenkov is in the 14th day of a hunger strike aimed at winning the right to live with his wife, Elena, of Baltimore, and their daughter, Yekaterina.

deat in Moscow and married in 1981.

Meanwhile, the resignation Friday of the hard-liner Stefan Olszowski, Gen. Jaruzelski's chief political rival, from his post as chief of the Communist Party propaganda apparatus, was certain to increase rumors that the government is about to make major concessions to promote what it calls "national accord." A gesture of some kind is expected before the country's National Day on Thursday, but how significant will be

ed last month. Diplomatic sources said that about 30 former internees have left for France and that West Germany is also admitting a few.

Mr. Olszowski's resignation as chief of the party's propaganda apparatus was announced Friday following a two-day meeting of the Central Committee's policy-making Central Committee in the party's most important leadership change since martial law was declared in December. While Mr. Olszowski remains a member of the 15-man Politburo, his removal from the cultural post strips him of an important power base.

Persistent Rumor

The official press agency PAP said that Mr. Olszowski, 50, resigned "in connection with his transition to work in the state apparatus." The agency did not elaborate, but one persistent rumor has been that Mr. Olszowski would take a foreign affairs post, possibly that of foreign minister. He held that job once before during the 1970s.

While important, any post in the Foreign Ministry would not give him the direct daily influence over the country's political life that his party job provided.

While clearly a setback, the change does not necessarily mark the end of Mr. Olszowski's influence. He is considered highly ambitious, relatively liberal in eco-

nomic outlook but an orthodox Marxist in politics. He has been laid down before, having once been kicked out of the Politburo by Edward Gierak when he was party chief.

The leading liberal in the Politburo also lost a key post in Friday's shuffle. Hieronim Kubala, a former Central Committee secretary in charge of cultural affairs, resigned the cultural post "to devote himself to scholarly work," the press agency reported.

Diplomatic analysts here suggested that Mr. Kubala's removal was forced on Gen. Jaruzelski as the price for Mr. Olszowski's demotion.

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MUST BEIRUT BE DESTROYED?

**AFTER DRESDEN,
AFTER WARSAW,
AFTER HIROSHIMA,
WILL MANKIND ALLOW BEIRUT TO BE ADDED TO THE LONG LIST OF DEVASTATED CITIES?**

IN THIS BELEAGUERED CAPITAL, THE RUBBLE IS PILING UP AND THE DEAD CAN NO LONGER BE COUNTED.

IN THIS BESIEGED CITY, THOUSANDS OF LEBANESE AND PALESTINIAN CHILDREN, THE HOPE OF THEIR TWO PEOPLES, LIVE UNDER TERROR AND THE SHADOW OF DEATH.

IN BEIRUT, PEOPLE ARE THREATENED WITH EXTERMINATION, AND A CULTURAL OBLITERATION IS IMPENDING. FOR, IN BEIRUT, ARE ALSO TO BE FOUND REPOSITORIES OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE PALESTINIAN AND LEBANESE PEOPLE.

THE ANCIENT CITIES OF TYRE, SIDON AND NABATIEH ARE ALREADY IN RUINS, AND THOUSANDS OF LIVES ARE ALREADY LOST.

**WILL THE WORLD STAND BY INDIFFERENTLY IN THE FACE OF THIS PERIL?
WILL HUMANITY ALLOW BEIRUT TO BE DESTROYED?**

**ARMAND DU CHAYLA - RAMSEY CLARK - LUIS ECHEVERRIA
ALVAREZ - CARLOS FUENTES - S.E. LURIA - SEAN McBRIDE -
MELINA MERCIORI - PAUL MILLIEZ - MOHIEDDIN SABER -
LEOPOLD SEDAR SENGHOR - WILLIAM STYRON - STUDS TERKEL -
SHEIKH MOHAMMED BEN HAMAD AL-THANI - WILLIAM
WINPISINGER - ANDREW YOUNG.**

الجمعية العالمية لاحفاظ على التراث الثقافي الفلسطيني ورعايته (ج.ت.ث.)

Association internationale pour la sauvegarde et la mise en valeur du Patrimoine Culturel Palestinien. (A.P.C.P.)

International Association for the Safeguard and Enhancement of the Palestinian Cultural Heritage. (P.C.H.A.)

Angolan Leaders, Acknowledging Falling Support, Blame Outsiders

By Alan Cowell

New York Times Service
LUANDA, Angola — When Angola achieved independence from Portugal, those bent on creating a new order wrote a slogan that compared their revolution to a bicycle. If you stop pedaling, you fall off.

It is now seven years since the birth of Angola's revolution and, despite external and internal enemies, the wheels are still turning, although slowly.

There has been, President José Eduardo dos Santos said recently, a "certain demobilization of the masses in relation to the party."

Those who were once prepared to put their cars, houses and money in the party's service no longer do so.

The acknowledgement of disaffection with the country's only lawful political party, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Workers' Party, is characteristic of the frankness with which Angolans sometimes discuss their difficulties.

But it is unclear whether support is waning because, as Western analysts argue, the government has no popular mandate and is held in place by Cuban troops and Soviet weapons or, as Angola's supporters assert, because the Marxist government is being frustrated by its enemies, notably South Africa.

Angolans never got the elections promised in the negotiations that led to independence Nov. 11, 1975. This prompted the United States,

in the early days of the Reagan administration, to question the legitimacy of the dos Santos' government.

The corollary of this argument was that if there had been elections Angola would have been more able to withstand outside subversion.

A senior Western diplomat in Luanda said the Marxist government also might have stood a far greater chance of implanting its will across the country, with fewer Cuban soldiers, if South Africa had not intervened so persistently in the south.

South Africa, according to Angolan officials, has established two bases in Angola at Chiede and Naulila, just north of the Southwest African (Namibian) border. Angolan forces no longer venture into a semicircle of land in the south, the northernmost tip of which is Rorocas on the Cunene River.

The South Africans have also raided bases in southern Angola of guerrillas fighting for the independence of Namibia.

South Africa's continuing support for rebels of the Union for the Total Independence of Angola, one of the three factions that fought for independence from Portugal, has had a severe economic impact. The rebels operate in the rich central highlands, which once made Angola a net exporter of food. Now, Angola has become a net importer of food.

The precipitate departure of about 350,000 Portuguese is frequently cited as the cause of one of Angola's most pressing problems:



Santos accused both the United States and South Africa of imperialism. Yet companies from those same "imperialist" nations play major roles in the only two areas of the Angolan economy that make profits — diamonds and oil.

Angola's gems are mined by a subsidiary of De Beers, the South African mining conglomerate, while U.S. companies, Gulf and Texaco, dominate the petroleum industry.

As a result, representatives of imperialism help produce wealth that is spent in part on guns to defend Angola against "imperialist" forces. But that wealth is limited.

According to estimates by Western diplomats, of the \$985 million earned from exports to the West in 1980, \$893 million were used to pay for imports that did not include the estimated \$120 million spent each year on Soviet arms and the estimated \$50 million spent in providing overseas allowances for the 15,000 to 20,000 Cubans in Angola.

In his recent speech, Mr. dos

promptly declared the second proclamation null and void.

The government said it would carry the case to the appeals court, South Africa's highest tribunal, but the judicial checks it has already suffered appeared to mean that it might have to wait until the white parliament convenes next year to obtain the necessary authority to push through the Zulu land deal.

Another legal challenge, brought by the leaders of the former simply dissolved by proclamation last month, is due to be argued in the Pretoria supreme court later this month.

The central government has ordered Kwazulu's officials to leave Ingwavuma while the issue is before the courts, and Chief Buthelezi responded recently by calling on the estimated 135,000 residents of the area not to cooperate with the central government's offi-

cials. In an angry speech, he also advised the white magistrate who was placed in charge of the district to leave for his own safety.

Supporters Mystified

Even the government's supporters have been somewhat mystified by its apparent eagerness for confrontation with Chief Buthelezi, the complex strategy behind the land deal is aimed, in part, at retaliating against the Zulu leader and undermining him for his refusal to accept the nominal independence that South Africa offers to the former tribal reserves that it has now set up as black states.

In addition to challenging the land transfer in the courts, Chief Buthelezi is hoping to arouse the Organization of African Unity and get it to put pressure on Swaziland, a member state, to keep it from participating in the South African plan to ease racial pressures by switching the citizenship of blacks. One diplomatic source said there were already signs that the question might make its way onto the agenda of the UN General Assembly in the fall.

A recent editorial in the influential Afrikaans daily *Bied* implied that the authorities might want to consult the people in the disputed regions. But it did not go so far as to challenge the government's refusal to consider putting the land transfer up to a referendum by the estimated 900,000 blacks who

would be stripped of South African citizenship if the deal goes through.

But some interpreters believe that, far from stumbling into confrontation with Chief Buthelezi,

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MONDAY, JULY 19, 1982

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Rates Decline but Rush Of New Issues Unlikely

By Carl Gewirtz

PARIS — The gigantic, trigger-busting July bulge in U.S. money supply, predicted for months by analysts and feared by market participants, failed to materialize last week.

The Federal Reserve reported late Friday that the increase for the week ended July 7 totaled \$3.3 billion — a trifling compared with forecasts that ranged as high as \$14 billion. More important was that coupled with a downward revision of \$500 million in the previous week's decline, the latest number leaves the M-1 measure of the money supply below the upper limit of the Fed's annual growth target.

Also noteworthy was the news coming out of Washington — June industrial production down 0.7

EUROBONDS

percent and retail sales off 1.5 percent — indicating that an economic upturn is not yet in sight and fostering the view that the Fed can comfortably set about relaxing its monetary policy.

And, as happened last week, markets were ripe with talk that the Fed would very soon confirm this by reducing its discount rate. The Fed's intentions will, in any event, be clarified Tuesday when Chairman Paul Volcker appears before the Senate Banking Committee.

Cost Factors

After the money supply report hit the news wires, the rest of overnight money in New York, which finished Thursday at just over 12 percent, tumbled to a low of 12 percent before closing at 12.6 percent. This triggered a decline in other interest rates, with six-month Eurodollar quoted in New York at 14.7/16 percent, down from the London closing of 14.15/16 percent.

The foreign exchange market also reacted. The dollar declined to 2.4562 Deutsche marks from 2.4775 DM at the close of European trading.

Bond prices in New York improved, and the trend is expected to continue Monday. The anticipated improvement, however, is not expected to result in any rush of new issues — at least not for top quality North American or European names. Yields in New York are at least 4 percent lower than in the Eurobond market, making it unattractive to borrow in Europe. On the other hand, this would also imply that Eurobond prices have considerable room for improvement to catch up to New York.

The most talked about issue last week was Mexico's offering, a record high coupon of 18 percent. Launched for an amount of \$100 million, it was increased to \$125 million, and later \$150 million. Although the issue was priced last week at par, lead manager Merrill Lynch said it reserves the right until the end of this month to increase the amount to \$175 million.

Reflection of Uncertainty

This is quite unusual and basically reflects the lead manager's uncertainty about the demand for the paper. Merrill, as is usual, is running a short position — it has allocated more bonds than it has to offer — on the expectation it will pick up the paper it needs in the secondary market and thereby help stabilize the aftermarket quote. The price Friday was 98 3/4 but 99 1/4 offered.

However, if demand for the issue is real and paper is not easy to find, Merrill could find itself forced to push the price over par, making it very expensive to pick up the supply it needs. Thus, it has arranged to increase the amount by up to \$25 million if necessary.

In theory, this is a 15-year issue, but purchasers can redeem the paper at par every three years, making it a three-year piece of paper renewable four times provided Mexico does not call the loan (at par) after the sixth year.

The coupon was a striking reflection of Mexico's poor credit standing, based on fears that it will be forced to reschedule its foreign debt, which totals some \$50 billion. Indeed, many analysts said they could not recommend that their clients buy the paper. It was widely assumed that the banks would take the paper for their own portfolios. They could finance the purchase by borrowing three-year Eurodollars at about 15.1 percent and obtain a profit of 3 1/4 percent points. The return could be increased further, depending on how much of the 1% percent in commissions they could pocket.

The operation was widely interpreted as a反映 of uncertainty in the market, and the lead manager's decision to offer a high coupon was seen as a signal that the market was not fully convinced of the strength of the Mexican economy.

Robert Parry, chief economist at

Eurobond Yields

For Week Ended July 14	
Int'l Inst. ls. term U.S.	14.85%
Int'l. long term U.S.	14.03%
Int'l. medium term, U.S.	13.44%
Can. 5 month term	13.05%
French fr. medium term	13.72%
Int'l. Inst. ls. term yen	12.33%
Euro. long term	12.45%
U.S. long term	12.45%
Int'l. Inst. ls. term FL	11.47%
U.S. long term	11.57%

calculated by the Luxembourg Stock Exchange

Market Turnover

For Week Ended July 16		Non-dollar
Total	\$4,262.9	5,270.1
Euroclear	9,473.4	8,705.5

(Millions of U.S. Dollars)

printed as a disguised syndicated loan, the key difference being that Mexico is paying a margin of 3 1/4 points (plus commissions) over the interbank rate, compared with the one-point margin over the interbank rate it recently paid for three-year money in the syndicated loan market.

"Once the banks have tasted a spread of over three points," one banker asked, "how is Mexico ever going to go back to the loan market for less than 2 percent?"

A Bad Mistake

Another banker remarked simply, "Mexico had made a bad mistake to pay so much for so little."

For its part, Merrill Lynch insists that a substantial amount of the paper was sold to investors.

Another issue meriting note is the zero-coupon offering of American Medical International, a single-A-rated health care service company that owns or manages 90 hospitals in various countries. It sold \$200 million principal amount of 15-year bonds at 14 percent of face value. The capital gain earned when the bonds are redeemed at face value works out to the equivalent of an annual yield of 14.01 percent. A companion \$250 million of 20-year bonds were sold at 8 1/4 percent of face value, which provides an annual yield of 13.29 percent.

The maturities are the longest yet seen in the zero market, exceeding the previous record of 13 years.

The nature of zeros — no annual interest paid, no repayment of principal until final maturity — requires that buyers have full confidence that the issuer will still be in business when the paper becomes redeemable at face value. This is why companies issuing zeros here have been limited to triple-A credits (Campbell Soup, Gulf Oil) or single-A credits that are household names, such as Sears Roebuck or Philip Morris.

(Continued on Page 9, Col. 1)



Robert J. Sanator, Fairchild Republic's senior vice president for program management, with a mock-up of the trainer. The New York Times

Aircraft Contract Lets Fairchild Breathe Easier

By James Barron

New York Times Service

FARMINGDALE, N.Y. — Last fall, when many contractors began expanding production to meet the demands of the Reagan administration's increased military budget, Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger sharply reduced Fairchild Republic Corp.'s one prime contract: a 10-year-old agreement to make the Air Force's A-10 Thunderbolt jet fighters.

Suddenly, the 51-year-old aerospace manufacturer, a subsidiary of Fairchild Industries, became a prime contractor with no prime contract, "as one top executive put it. Within a few weeks the company laid off 1,000 employees — more than 10 percent of its assembly-line crew.

But now Fairchild Republic, whose predecessor built more than 15,000 Republic P-47s during World War II and had five prime contracts in the 1950s, is back in the military business.

Early this month, the Air Force chose Fairchild Republic over two rivals, Cessna and Rockwell, as the prime contractor for 650 new jet training aircraft. Until an appropriate name and number is assigned, the new plane is being referred to as the NGT, for "next generation trainer." It is to replace Cessna's T-37.

Cheers at Plant

The news reached Fairchild's hangar-like plant here after 4 p.m. July 2, just after most of the day shift had gone home. Those who were still around cheered.

The new contract is expected to total \$2 billion to \$3 billion over the next 10 years. Some analysts said it could mean far more business for Fairchild Republic if foreign nations buy the craft to train their pilots.

"The new contract is equivalent to swallowing a bottle of pep pills," said Jerry Gilbert, a Chemical Bank economist. Alan Benasul, an aerospace analyst with Drexel Burnham Lambert Inc., said the contract could increase the

earnings of Fairchild Industries by 25 cents in 1985 and by as much as \$2 by 1989.

In 1981, Fairchild Industries had revenue of \$1.3 billion, up from \$906 million in 1980. Net income was \$64.3 million, or \$3.48 a share, compared with \$54.5 million, or \$3.02 a share. In the first quarter of this year, the company earned 50 cents a share, down from 94 cents a year earlier.

Relatively Unsophisticated

Some analysts, however, said the benefits of the new trainer contract may not come soon enough.

"Unfortunately the A-10 program is declining a lot more rapidly than the next generation trainer is picking up," said Eliot Fried, who follows Fairchild for Shearson/American Express Inc. "There will be a time when the military business will be at an ebb."

Fairchild Republic's new training plane is a small, relatively unsophisticated jet designed for use by "undergraduate" pilots. It has a top speed of 430 knots, can cruise comfortably at 400 knots and can climb to 45,000 feet (1,465 meters).

Fairchild Republic officials said the company had spent more than \$450,000 in its campaign to impress the Air Force and even went so far as to build two small-scale models for demonstration flights when its competitors were still at their drafting tables.

"We considered it a must win," said Robert J. Sanator, Fairchild Republic's senior vice president for program management. "There's no question it was pivotal for us."

The contract will mean an immediate expansion in Fairchild Republic's design and engineering departments. The company expects to add 1,000 jobs to its payroll by late 1983.

The A-10 had been Fairchild's main source of revenue and recognition for more than a decade. Mr. Weinberger decided to scale down the

program because he believed other attack planes were more effective than the twin-engine A-10, designed only for daylight operations.

Output was cut from 144 planes in 1981 to 90 this year. The reduced production schedule calls for fewer than 40 A-10s in 1983 and only 24 in 1984. The Air Force contract originally called for Fairchild to produce 738 planes. More than 520 have been delivered so far.

Fairchild had tried to insulate itself against the loss of the A-10 program by selling A-10s to other nations, but so far it has signed no contracts. The company has also taken on several subcontracts, which tend to be less profitable than prime contracts but provide work for production-line employees.

That is why one corner of Fairchild's cavernous main plant in Farmingdale is filled with wings for the space shuttle — a subcontract from Rockwell International Corp. In another corner are wings for the Boeing Co.'s 747, and the company manufactures three sections of the Boeing 757 at another plant in Maryland.

Financial Turbulence

In another part of the plant here are midsections of a new 34-passenger commercial airliner, known as the 340, that is the result of a joint venture with Saab, the Swedish automobile manufacturer. The idea is to build a commuter airplane that is larger than a 19-passenger Beech 1900 but smaller than full-size commercial jets.

But the Nicosia-based trade weekly added that no decision was expected before the Moslem fasting month of Ramadan ends on Thursday.

Iran and Libya demanded that their production quotas be increased within an existing OPEC framework that sets a ceiling for overall output at 17.5 million barrels daily. They wanted Saudi Arabia to reduce its production to accommodate their extra output.

Unemployment has remained at 9.5 percent and industrial production slipped for the 10th time in 11 months.

On the positive side, the government also reported that business inventories in May registered a 0.9-percent decline, the sharpest monthly decrease since the Commerce Department began keeping such statistics in 1967. A low inventory level is seen as a hopeful sign because it means that when the economy picks up, manufacturers will have to increase production more rapidly.

Over the past week, as Los Angeles Times reporters checked a dozen leading U.S. industries for any hints of new life, their searches turned up little that was encouraging. Here is what they found:

Housing: One bright indicator to which administration officials and others have pointed was May's level of housing starts, 100,000. That number, equivalent to 1.09 million units on an annual basis, was a 22-percent improvement from April's annual rate of 88,000.

"The increase is entirely a statistical fluke," says Charlotte Chamberlain, director of policy and economic research for the Federal Home Loan Bank, overseer of the U.S. savings and loan industry. She and others attribute the May surge to some long-planned federally subsidized housing that got under way.

That apparent growth, they (Continued on Page 9, Col. 1)

Analysts Don't See Interest Rates Declining Sharply in Near Term

Compiled by Our Staff From Despatches

NEW YORK — Despite encouraging signs in the credit market, many analysts say that a sharp interest rate decline in the next few weeks is unlikely.

Over the past few weeks, rates have fallen substantially. The overnight rate for bank loans in the federal funds market averaged 12 1/4 percent Friday, down from 13 1/8 percent in the week ended Wednesday and 14.47 percent July 7.

The Federal Reserve, moreover, has steadily added reserves to the banking system, apparently signaling

U.S. CREDIT MARKETS

its intent to loosen up a bit in its credit policy. And the \$5.9-billion rise in the M-1 money supply for the week ended July 7, reported by the Fed Friday, was smaller than many analysts feared. A larger rise would have put pressure on the Fed to tighten its curbs on credit.

Nonetheless, said Thomas Thompson, a money market economist at Crocker Bank in San Francisco, "It's important to keep in mind that the Fed wants to avoid the mistake of easing too much" and risking a new burst of inflation. Mr. Thompson said he expects the federal funds rate to remain in the 12-to-12 1/4-percent range in the weeks ahead, even though he believes the Fed this week will lower its discount rate, the central bank's charges on loans to other banks, to 11 percent from 12.

He expects Treasury bill rates just above 11 percent and certificate of deposit rates of around 13 percent.

The operation was widely interpreted as a reflection of uncertainty in the market, and the lead manager's decision to offer a high coupon was seen as a signal that the market was not fully convinced of the strength of the Mexican economy.

Robert Parry, chief economist at

All these Bonds have been sold. This announcement appears as a matter of record only.

NEW ISSUE

June 1, 1982

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Salomon Brothers International S.G. Warburg & Co. Ltd.

Bank Commerciale Italiana	Bank Gutzwiler, Kurz, Büngener (Overseas)	Bank/Banque Ippa S.A.	Bank Mees & Hope NV

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International Bond Prices – Week of July 15

Provided by White Weld Securities, London, Tel.: 623 1277; a Division of Financiere Credit Suisse - First Boston

Amt	Security	Yield				Amt	Security	Yield				Amt	Security	Yield					
		%	Net	Price	Ave			%	Net	Price	Ave			%	Net	Price	Ave		
(Continued from Page 6)																			
112	Finance For Industry	11	31 Mar	\$5	1468	1446	1285	120	1465	1446	1285	120	Owens-Corning	9	16 Aug	\$3 1/2	1287	15.68	10.29
113	Finance For Industry	12	1/2 Nov	\$5	1426	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1309	120	Pacific Gas & Elec	19	16 Aug	\$3 1/2	1501	15.44	15.44
114	Finance For Industry	12	1 Nov	\$5	1416	1417	1348	120	1545	1541	1348	120	Pacific Gas & Elec	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1541	15.29	15.29
115	Finance Int'l Finance	12	17 Jul	\$75 1/2	1535	1592	1803	120	1525	1502	1309	120	Pacific Lighting Indl	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
116	Fleets Int'l Finance	12	30 Dec	\$5	1426	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1309	120	Pennsylvania Capital Co	9	25 Sep	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
117	Fleets Int'l Finance	12	30 Dec	\$5	1740	1740	1600	120	1525	1502	1309	120	Penney Jr C Int'l Corp	17	26 Sep	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
118	General Electric	12	22 Feb	\$5	1445	1438	1316	120	1525	1502	1309	120	Penney Jr C Int'l Corp	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
119	General Holdings Bv	12	31 Mar	\$5	1445	1438	1316	120	1500	1498	1316	120	Pennmont Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1498	15.27	10.27
120	Gold Field Bonds	12	14 Apr	\$5	1426	1408	1309	120	1500	1498	1316	120	Pennmont Overseas	9	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1498	15.27	10.27
121	Grand Hyatt-Hotels	9	1/4 Jan	\$5	1321	1468	1457	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
122	Grucci Royal Execs	7	1/2 Dec	\$4	1440	1409	1314	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
123	GULL Internat'l N.V.	8	1/2 Mar	\$5	1426	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
124	GULS Internat'l N.V.	8	1/2 Mar	\$5	1426	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
125	Hannover United	7	24 Oct	\$9	1545	1545	1651	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
126	Hannover United Group	5	1/2 Nov	\$5	1426	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
127	Hartman Walker Fin w/w	14	1/4 Apr	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
128	Hartman Walker Fin w/w	9	1/2 Jan	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
129	HCI Finance Nv	11	15 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
130	HCI Int'l Fin	5	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
131	HCI Int'l Fin	5	1/2 Dec	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
132	HCI Int'l Holdings	18	14 Mar	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
133	Kleinwort, Benson	8	1/4 May	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
134	Lazard & General Assur	7	5/8 Feb	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
135	Lombard-Estate	15	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
136	Lombard-Estate	12	24 Dec	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
137	Lombard-Estate	7	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
138	Lombard-Estate	5	2/4 Sep	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
139	Northwest Coal Board	5	1/2 Sep	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
140	Northwest Coal Board	5	18 Oct	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
141	Northwest Coal Board	5	2/4 Nov	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
142	Northwest Coal Board	5	1/2 Nov	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
143	Northwest Coal Board	5	1/2 Nov	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
144	Northwest Coal Board	5	1/2 Nov	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
145	Northwest Coal Board	5	1/2 Nov	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
146	Northwest Coal Board	5	1/2 Nov	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
147	Northwest Coal Board	5	1/2 Nov	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
148	Northwest Coal Board	5	1/2 Nov	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	8	17 Oct	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
149	Northwest Coal Board	5	1/2 Nov	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1510	1502	1457	120	Permanoil Overseas	9	1/4 Jan	\$3 1/2	1502	15.29	15.29
150	Acme Nv	14	25 Dec	\$9	18.94	1458	1458	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	7	24 Sep	\$3 1/2	1453	15.00	10.29
151	America Life Casualty	5	27 Apr	\$53 3/4	1438	1440	1347	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
152	America Life Fin	5	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
153	American Finance	12	24 Apr	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
154	American Finance	12	25 Jul	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
155	American Finance	12	25 Jul	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
156	American Express Ex/w	6	3/4 Jul	\$5	1740	1740	1681	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
157	American Airlines	19	1/4 Apr	\$5	1740	1740	1681	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
158	American Express Over	14	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
159	American Foreign Pwr	4	5/17 Jul	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
160	American Foreign Pwr	4	1/4 Nov	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
161	American Int'l Tel & Tel	14	1/4 Nov	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
162	America Off Holdings	11	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
163	Amherst Securities	11	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
164	Amherst Securities	11	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	Transamerica Fin Corp	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1451	15.00	10.29
165	UNITED STATES AMERICA	8	1/4 Jul	\$5	15.87	1457	1457	120	1525	1502	1457	120	True Overseas	7	24 Sep	\$3 1/2	1457	15.34	10.34
166	Acme Nv	14	25 Dec	\$9	18.94	1458	1458	120	1525	1502	1457	120	True Overseas	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1457	15.34	10.34
167	America Life Casualty	5	27 Apr	\$53 3/4	1438	1440	1347	120	1525	1502	1457	120	True Overseas	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1457	15.34	10.34
168	America Life Fin	5	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	True Overseas	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1457	15.34	10.34
169	America Life Fin	5	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	True Overseas	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1457	15.34	10.34
170	America Life Fin	5	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	True Overseas	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1457	15.34	10.34
171	America Life Fin	5	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	True Overseas	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1457	15.34	10.34
172	America Life Fin	5	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	True Overseas	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1457	15.34	10.34
173	America Life Fin	5	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	True Overseas	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1457	15.34	10.34
174	America Life Fin	5	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	True Overseas	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1457	15.34	10.34
175	America Life Fin	5	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	True Overseas	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1457	15.34	10.34
176	America Life Fin	5	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408	1309	120	1525	1502	1457	120	True Overseas	15	24 Aug	\$3 1/2	1457	15.34	10.34
177	America Life Fin	5	1/4 Jun	\$5	1424	1408</													

DM STRAIGHT BONDS

Europäische
Märkte und Finanzen

tual Funds

The following securities, supplied by the National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc., are the prices at which these securities could have been sold (Net Asset Value) or bought (volume plus sales charge) Friday.		Golch	102.0	NL	Past F	unavail	Closing Prices July 10 1984	Bid	Ask	Bid	Ask	NB In Tr	9.97	NL	Com Sl	11.42	NL	Trev Ed	8.74	9.35	
		Calvin Bullock:	14.00	15.30	Tx Fte	7.34	NL	HuffGm	16.25	NL	Affrid	7.17	7.73	NE Ingrt	8.43	NL	Tchr Ed	11.96	NL		
		Bulick	14.00	15.30	US Gvt	7.93	NL	Growth	16.25	NL	Bind db	8.48	9.27	Novd Fd	11.62	NL	Trans C	9.38	NL		
		Candn	6.01	6.57	Fidelity Group:			Growth	4.75	4.28	Dev Gt	16.14	17.44	NY Vent	8.82	4.41	Trans C Sel	12.54	NL		
		David	2.49	2.25	Asset	1.02	NL	Incom	1.32	1.63	Incom	2.71	2.92	Neaven	6.20	NL	Trans C Ut	4.17	4.21		
		Hillinc	9.77	10.25	Bond	1.02	NL	Lutheran Scty			Omega			Onc Wm	1.21	NL	MHMS	6.86	NL		
		Month	9.07	9.11	Congas	37.78	NL	Tr/Fd un	unavail		Seed	47.16	NL	USSA Group:			Growth	9.59	NL		
		NW WS	1.00	1.01	Confid	1.02	NL	Fond	16.44	11.63	Oppenheimer Fd:			Inco	9.71	NL	Inco	9.71	NL		
		Tx Ffd	2.03	2.03	Dashy	0.89	NL	Incom	7.25	7.50	Direct			Security Funds:			Salt	9.60	NL		
		Cap TNT	9.72	NL	Eic Inc	18.16	NL	Industry	5.40	NL	Atmnl	5.95	6.24	Bond	7.25	7.46	Unit Accu	5.44	NL		
		Centennial Gas	7.28	8.07	Exch	20.56	NL	Intercoptical			Us Gov	5.97	6.00	E equity	5.44	5.95	Unit Mut	5.46	NL		
		Grib	5.45	6.17	Model	19.95	20.88	HiYk4	11.28	12.47	Mass Financ	2.00	20.30	Invst	7.64	8.07	Unit Fund	8.76	NL		
		Jones	5.45	6.17						Iec Bos	21.49	22.62	Ultra	6.78	7.51	United Funds:					

A16 Funds:	
CvYld	11.48 12.79
Edison	8.42 9.82
HIVD	8.20 8.57
Alpha F	16.19 NL
A Birth	18.79 17.39
American Funds:	
Hil Yld	5.83 5.45
Incom	6.49 NL
A Bd	8.24 9.05
Chart Fund	14.50 13.93
Che Dir	12.28 NL
Chesnut	91.28 NL
Colonial Funds:	
Fund	9.77 10.68
Growth	7.08 7.74
Indust	3.85 NL
Incom	6.49 NL
Investment Group:	
Turin	9.17 NL
Trend	24.59 NL
Financial Pros:	
Dyne	7.22 NL
PrfTx	12.25 NL
Indust	10.50 NL
IDS Pros	4.97 5.41
IDS Bd	6.81 7.28
IDS NFT	7.47 9.25
IDS Incom	6.91 7.20
NHAF	5.69 6.12
InTr B	9.97 10.68
Mathers	16.89 NL
Merrill Lynch:	
Basic	8.99 9.41
Const	14.44 15.61
EQU Bd	8.82 9.19
HL Inc	9.54 10.43
PaxWd	8.77 NL
Penn Se	8.65 NL
Penn Ma	3.68 NL
Philo	8.33 9.27
Phoenix Chase:	
Bolan	7.22 NL
Bolan	3.95 9.77
Bond	5.61 6.12
CyFd	11.54 14.00
Corn S	13.92 14.73
Growth	10.64 11.46
Growth Income	10.38 11.19
Health Fund	5.46 5.69
SciErs	1.25 NL
Vanguard	7.85 12.95
US Gold Fund	3.70 NL
Bd	
Bonds	
Fund	
Health Fund	
SciErs	
Vanguard	
US Gold Fund	

A Bal	126	163	Incom	4,62	5.5	Incom	1,11	10.1	Inv Atlt	6,78	10.1	Hg Inc	6,91	7.20	Growth	7,54	10.1	Growth	10,68	11.0	Fund
Ampac	87	121	Open	3,53	3.9	Prop Investors:	—	—	Inv Atlt	6,78	10.1	Hg Inc	6,91	7.20	Simpla	20,75	11.0	Simpla	45,94	NL	Fund
A Mart	1144	1145	Tex Mex	18,76	21.0	Prop Inv Ap	12,61	10.0	Inv Siz	17,24	7.44	Hg Inv	9,49	9.31	Stratix	17,79	9.31	Stratix	15,44	NL	Fund
Bond	11,85	12,00	Colu Gth	15,70	NL	Growth	4,51	9.30	Inv Siz	6,54	7.03	Int'l Trns	9,74	9.34	Stock	4,71	9.33	Stock	16,48	NL	Fund
Fd Inv	7,88	8,00	Cash CD	1,11	1.20	Incom	5,59	6.44	Inv Vor	2,49	1.14	Muni Hg	7,76	9.56	PCCos	11,45	10.00	PCCos	12,84	10.00	Fund
Growth	9,28	9,40	Cash CD	1,56	1.47	Notress	4,78	5.24	Inv Resh	7,12	6.12	Muni Inv	5,99	6.58	Phlgrm Grs:	—	—	Phlgrm Grs:	—	—	Fund
Income	7,95	8,01	Cash CD	8,77	8.74	Distr	4,67	5.44	Inv Resh	9,86	5.33	Poc Fd	9,95	10.53	Hg Inv	10,27	11.18	Hg Inv	15,51	12.06	Fund
ICA	723	727	Cash Fd	2,24	6.64	Distr	7,22	7.80	Inv Fd	9,86	5.33	Mas C	4,49	4.54	Incom	14,34	7.20	Incom	9,48	10.34	Fund
			Tax Ex	—	—	Distr	11,84	12.07	Inv Inv	8,26	8.96	Mas C	4,99	7.22	Muni Inv	11,23	11.82	Muni Inv	6,53	10.34	Fund
									Sal Vol	8,26	8.96	Muni Inv	12,49	13.05	Muni Inv	—	—	Muni Inv	61.99	NL	Fund

ICA N. Amer.	4.66	7.77	Come Fed Concord	18.67	NL	Tax Ex 4/16/94	7.22	7.88	JP Grif 4/16/94	11.84	12.87	Sol Inv	8.26	8.26	Mod Inv Fund	12.86	13.05	nWwGr Fund	41.99	42.11
With Mt.	4.55		Connecticut	16.67	NL				JP Inv	7.27	7.71	Mid AM	5.59	6.71	Bond	7.95	8.49	Sherm D	8.93	9.12
Amer General	1.41	6.26		19.47	11.33				Jonas	8.12	NL	AM Fund	10.87	11.87	Inv Fund	14.89	14.27	Sherr Fund	10.67	10.87
Cap Bd	1.21			5.00	4.74				John Hancock	12.48	12.57	ASFA Fund	15.54	NL	Inv Fund	11.11		ETX Fund	9.81	9.91
	12.78	9.01	Income	5.00					Fed Gth	5.03		Mut Ben	9.44	NL	Inv Fund	11.11		Diversi	10.43	10.51
Hld Inv	5.40			4.22	4.72				Founders Group	12.48	12.57	Mut Grvl	9.58	NL	Inv Fund	11.11		Inco	8.52	8.73
	14.27	14.98	Man Bd	5.00					Gwin	8.89	9.44	Mut Inv	11.11	NL	Inv Fund	11.11		ExBof	54.21	54.31
	11.29	NL	Cons Inv	5.00					US Govt	8.89	9.44	Mut Pfrtr	11.98	NL	Inv Fund	11.17		ExFof	67.47	67.57
	11.29	NL	Com Inv	5.00							Pfrtr	10.72	NL							

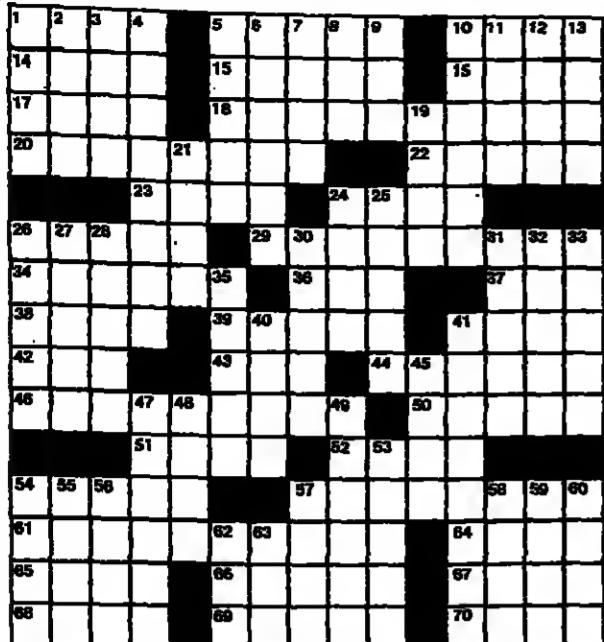
Alen In	7,077	NL	Dreyfus Gro:	Equip	USGOVT	8,124	Cap	Not Securities:	Putman Funds
ArMed	1,000	NL	AStd:	Toxco	Corporate Mktg	1,000	Cap	Cone	GDP Inv
ArMed	3,54	120	Dreyf	Trade Inc:	Corp B2	10,40	14.0	SFRM Bl Inv	11.79 NL
ArMed	10,68	14.5	Dreyf	Corras	Corp B2	11,58	14.0	SFRM Bl Inv	4.81 NL
ArMed	5,15	14.5	N Nine	InnQual	Corp B2	11,73	17.19	Street Inv:	GDP Inv
Attrogy	9,28	NL	Spl Inc	Pilot	Corp K1	4,85	12.0	Balanc	Trico
ArchGrl	24	14.5	Tox Ex	GTPac	Corp K2	5,41	11.13	Bond	12.62 NL
Ave Houston:	1,000	14.5			Corp K2	11,91	14.0	Growth	Fed
					Corp K2	12,00	14.0	Growth	Invest
					Corp K2	12,00	14.0	Health	5.17 NL
					Corp K2	12,00	14.0	Hlth	10.80 NL
					Corp K2	12,00	14.0	Hlth Inv	7.35 NL
					Corp K2	12,00	14.0	Putman Funds:	HIYBd
					Corp K2	12,00	14.0	Am. Inv.	7.72 NL
					Corp K2	12,00	14.0	Am. Inv.	7.72 NL

101 P. Co. 9.91 10.71 SURVEYORS 17.25 NL Martin Hart Lev 1951 NL Linder Guard 26.83 NL Elmer 24.44 21.11 1.21 1.21 1.21
1991 IOC 18.98 NL Surveyors 26.57 NL Herald 161.92 NL Loehr, Swindell 13.16 NL Fink

Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law, Vol. 29, No. 4, December 2004
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BOOKS

CROSSWORD



ACROSS

- 1 Golf stroke
- 5 Brazilian dance
- 10 Fly rapidly
- 14 Winglike
- 15 Drowsy
- 16 Genuinely
- 17 Facilitation
- 18 Doing nothing
- 19 Steinbeck novel
- 20 Bread warmers
- 22 Standish's rival
- 23 "Mary—little—"
- 24 Small opening
- 26 Dull sound
- 28 Married slatterns of fiction
- 34 Abe's adjective
- 36 "Choices"—Mathis hit
- 37 Storrow
- 38 Destruction
- 39 Author Toffler
- 41 "—erol!"
- 42 Time-zone abbr.
- 43 Caviar
- 44 Salted a road
- 45 Military school since 1862
- 50 People of action
- 51 Diner sign

DOWN

- 1 Sea worms at times
- 2 Root of the reeds
- 3 White House wonder
- 4 College rockies
- 5 Celosity
- 6 Bible peak
- 7 Michelman's novel
- 8 Pimlico transaction
- 9 Up: Prefix
- 10 Antennae
- 11 Angel, once
- 12 "Video" translation
- 13 Handy Latin abbr.
- 14 Sonoran's "Taiki"
- 15 Like some cartoons
- 16 Calumus was one
- 17 Wilson's adviser
- 18 Textbook parts
- 19 Winter — Fla.
- 20 Doubly
- 21 Circle above
- 22 Standing
- 23 Buried
- 24 Lacerated
- 25 Ceramic square
- 26 Flat-topped hill
- 27 Thor's father
- 28 Shebet
- 29 Army biggies
- 30 U.S. bombs
- 31 Handy Latin abbr.
- 32 "Taiki"
- 33 Like some cartoons
- 34 Calumus was one
- 35 Wilson's adviser
- 36 Textbook parts
- 37 Winter — Fla.
- 38 Doubly
- 39 Circle above
- 40 Standing
- 41 Buried
- 42 Lacerated
- 43 Ceramic square
- 44 Flat-topped hill
- 45 Thor's father
- 46 Shebet
- 47 Army biggies
- 48 U.S. bombs
- 49 Lane seen in a strip
- 50 Criminal
- 51 Netherlands export
- 52 Bed canopy
- 53 Forest trail
- 54 Beliefs
- 55 Agromotor-Detroit shipment
- 56 Movie critic:
- 57 Nell's partner
- 58 Great hall, in Hamburg
- 59 Goddess worshiped by Ramses II
- 60 Fuss
- 61 Holden or Hoffer
- 62 Private rooms
- 63 Dwindle
- 64 Capet classic

WEATHER

	HIGH	LOW		HIGH	LOW	
ALCARVE	C	C	F	20	18	Fair
ALGIER	10	24	16	24	20	Fair
AMSTERDAM	32	72	50	50	44	Fair
ANKARA	27	71	57	57	50	Fair
ATHENS	26	80	24	75	70	Fair
AUSTRALIA	34	75	24	75	70	Fair
BANGKOK	34	75	24	75	70	Fair
BEIRUT	28	84	24	75	70	Fair
BELGRADE	28	84	24	75	70	Fair
BERLIN	28	79	15	75	70	Fair
BOSTON	25	85	22	75	70	Fair
BRUSSELS	22	71	20	75	70	Fair
BUCHAREST	22	71	20	75	70	Fair
BUDAPEST	31	85	28	75	70	Fair
Buenos Aires	13	85	6	75	70	Fair
CARIO	34	75	24	75	70	Fair
CAPETOWN	10	55	2	75	70	Fair
CASABLANCA	24	85	24	75	70	Fair
CHICAGO	21	85	24	75	70	Fair
COPENHAGEN	21	70	12	75	70	Fair
COSTA DEL SOL	26	79	14	75	70	Fair
DAMASCUS	27	85	21	75	70	Fair
DUBLIN	24	85	24	75	70	Fair
EDINBURGH	17	83	11	75	70	Fair
FLORENCE	28	75	28	75	70	Fair
FRANKFURT	25	77	12	75	70	Fair
GENEVA	25	77	14	75	70	Fair
HANOI	15	85	24	75	70	Fair
HELSINKI	24	85	17	75	70	Fair
HONG KONG	32	85	25	75	70	Fair
HOUSTON	14	73	23	75	70	Fair
ISTANBUL	24	85	24	75	70	Fair
JERUSALEM	25	85	29	75	70	Fair
LAS PALMAS	24	75	12	75	70	Fair
LIMA	24	75	15	75	70	Fair
LISBON	24	75	13	75	70	Fair
LONDON	24	75	13	75	70	Fair

Readings from the previous 24 hours.

«Wine is meant to be enjoyed, not analyzed to death.»



The Herald Tribune's new book by Jon Winroth makes light of wine snobbery—but sparkles with facts

This quotation is from Jon Winroth's new and highly professional book, in which he rejects the windy pontification so often associated with wine buying, wine tasting and wine serving.

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INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

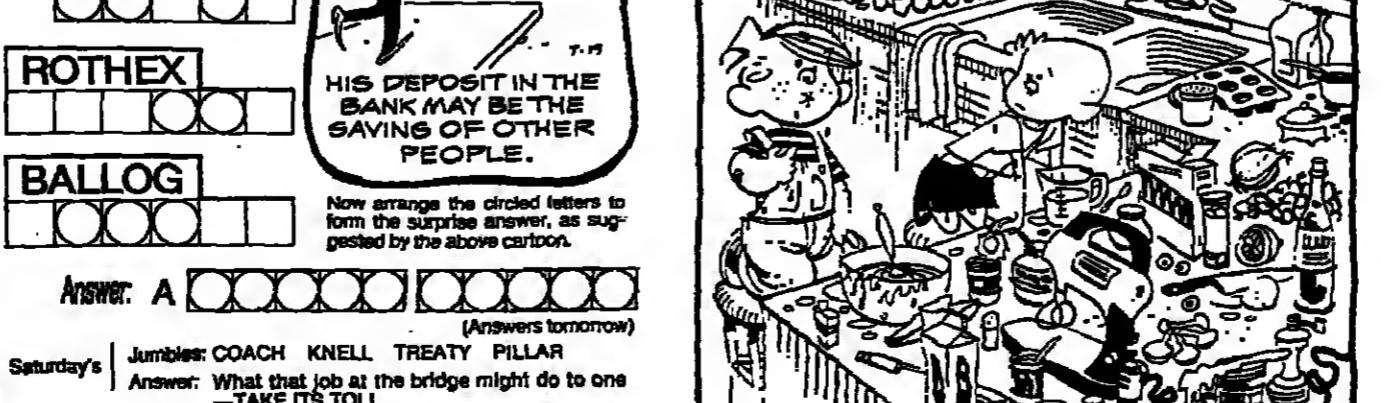
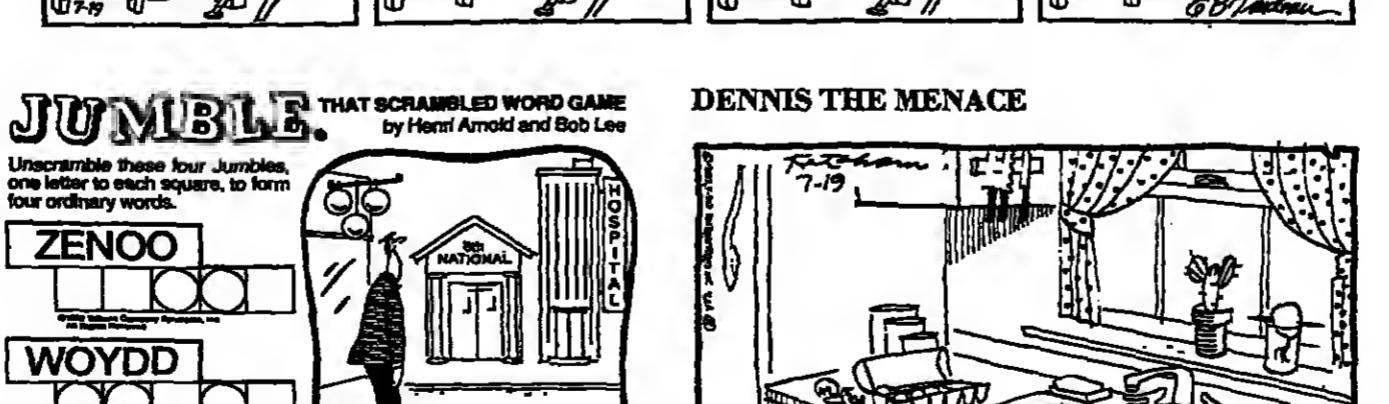
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Saturday's Jumble: COACH KNELL TREATY PILLAR
Answer: What that job at the bridge might do to one
—TAKE ITS TOLL

(Answers tomorrow)

CUBAN PASSAGE

By Norman Lewis. 250 pp. \$13.50.
Pantheon Books, 201 East 50th St., New York, N.Y. 10022.

BAD GUY

By Rosalyn Drexler. 180 pp. \$11.95.
E.P. Dutton & Co., 2 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Reviewed by Anatole Broyard

I DON'T quite know what to call

I Norman Lewis' "Cuban Passage," but whatever it is, it's rather good. Set in Batista's Havana, the book serves very well as a suspense novel, in which a British family undergoes its own revolution against a background of Fidel Castro's advance. On another level, it's a coming-of-age novel in which a 16-year-old boy named Dick expresses his rage at his mother's unfaithfulness to his absent father. There's something anachronistically satisfying about a boy who revenges his father and corrects his mother.

According to the dust jacket of "Cuban Passage," Lewis has traveled a great deal and, like so many British travelers, he has a talent for catching the sense of place. Havana, he writes, "must be the only capital city in the world where Woolworth's have a counter stacked with charms and voodoo paraphernalia." He even gives us a sardonic exposition of the political pecking order in parking a car outside the most prestigious cafe on the harbor.

Dick's father is away on business and his beautiful mother is sleeping with a Cuban named Silson whose position in the government is so pervasive that it bears no title. Silson is something of a hypnotist and he seduces Dick's mother by singing her the same bolero.

When Dick runs away, he meets Jerry, an American boy his age who lives on the docks in Havana and seems to know everything. Jerry advises Dick to kill Silson, and in this violent age of ours one is startled to come across a projected killing that does not seem altogether outrageous.

But I couldn't kill anything. Dick protests, and Jerry, after running down a list of practice victims, settles

on a rat. Even you, he says, could kill a rat. He knows exactly how and where to find one, and Dick, imagining it is Silson, does indeed kill the rat most convincingly. Though I can't tell you what he does with regard to Silson himself, I can say that once Dick locates his filial passions, he is a different boy.

Lewis has a fine ear for Cuban speech. When Dick passes some time in jail, his warden, who has designs on him, offers "shoes with scute heads, a hand-sack of cocodrilo, a sustain for the chest." There is a fine description of the rebels' homemade armored car which looks like "a rhino without a horn." They win battles, according to their commander, without firing a shot, by simply standing still and frightening the government forces.

A Casual Graham Greene

Lewis is like a casual Graham Greene, without the genius and the metaphysics and the painstaking organizing character development. If you read "Cuban Passage" as a straight novel, it's a bit unfinished here and there — but as a suspense novel, it's better than most.

In "Bad Guy," Rosalyn Drexler has shamelessly surrendered to all of her worst inclinations, and her novel is both pretentious and over-simplified. It has so little conviction that I still haven't figured out whether it's supposed to be deadpan comedy or dead serious. A woman psychotherapist who tries to rehabilitate a teen-age Puerto Rican murderer by living with him hardly seems a subject for humor — yet there are what seem to be sporadic attempts at wit.

This is Drexler's sixth novel and she has won two Obies for off-Broadway plays and an Emmy for television writing. "Bad Guy" comes with dust jacket encomiums by Norman Mailer, Donald Barthelme, John Lahm, and Hilma Wolitzer, and one is reminded of Calvin Trillin's proposed law that all blurb writers declare their connection with the author.

There's nothing much that I can say about the book, except that I'm surprised at Drexler, who seems to have tried harder in other works.

"Bad Guy" is kind of novel-filled with listless improvisation, that makes you want to suggest to the author that the time may have come for her to stop and think about the art of fiction, to clean out the attic of her imagination and start all over.

Anatole Broyard is on the staff of The New York Times.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

SWITCHING systems is rather like switching autos. Reading the manual and knowing where the controls are is not enough: If you want to avoid skid and other misfortunes you must be able to react appropriately in a wide variety of situations.

A bridge partnership that decides, say, to abandon standard bidding methods in favor of the Precision Club must make a number of small natural adjustments. Some bids will now be weaker or stronger; others will be forcing instead of nonforcing — or vice versa. Or they will show an unexpected suit length.

The one-club opening, on the diagrammed lead, was strong and artificial, and East doubled the overcall in clubs. South doubled to show moderate values, and North bid his hearts.

South should now have bid two no-trump, but she bid two spades, unaware that this would systematically promise a five-card suit. As a result, her partner eventually decided to bid a spade slam, rejecting the diamond fit that had been uncovered because the scoring was by match points.

Six diamonds would have been a sensible contract and would have succeeded without much difficulty. Six spades was terrible, as South discovered when a club was led and the dummy appeared. She decided correctly that there was very little hope unless the trumps were divided evenly, and proceeded on that assumption.

The opening lead was ruffed in dummy and, in the key play, a low

heart was led. East put up the heart king and did the best he could by returning the club club. This forced South to ruff in the dummy, blocking the trump suit. But after ruffing, she simply cashed to spade ace, ruffed a heart and drew trumps. The diamond losers from dummy were discarded and dummy scored the last six tricks in the red suits.

Making this rather improbable slam gave North-South all the available match points and left East-West, who had done nothing wrong, with the feeling they had been victimized by the fates.

NORTH (D)
♦A78
♥A9754

SPORTS

Watson Beats Price by a Shot To Win 4th British Golf Title

United Press International

TROON, Scotland — Tom Watson won his fourth British Open golf championship Sunday, beating Nick Price by a shot when the South African missed a 6-foot putt on the 17th hole.

Watson, who finished half an hour before Price, became the fifth golfer to win both the U.S. and British Opens in the same year and the first to do so since Lee Trevino in 1971.

One month ago he won his first U.S. Open, also by a single stroke, from Jack Nicklaus.

Different Scenario'

"This one was a different scenario," Watson said. "I really hadn't won the way I feel sorry for Nick Price. He played very well and did a commendable job."

Watson, the tournament favorite, also is only the second American, following Walter Hagen, to win the British championship four times, and all of his victories have come in Scotland.

Watson, who had started the day three shots behind Bobby Clampett, eagled the 11th hole and turned in a 2-under-par 70 for a

72-hole total of 4-under 284. First place was worth \$57,600.

Price, listed as 150-1 shot before the tournament, took command when he birdied three consecutive holes to start the back nine, giving him a 3-shot lead when Watson bogeyed the 15th hole.

But although Watson could not get the birdie he so desperately wanted on the final three holes, barely missing a 20-foot attempt on the 18th, Price yielded to the immense pressure with a double bogey on the 15th hole, creating a tie with Watson.

With prospects looming for an 18-hole playoff Monday, Price bogeyed the short 17th hole when his six-foot putt rolled to the right, and on the final hole he lost his final chance by missing a 35-foot putt to draw even.

Clampett, who had struggled all through Saturday when he shot 78, lost his lead immediately when Price birdied the first hole with a 20-foot putt to draw even.

Price then sank a 50-footer for another birdie on the second to move in front by two shots when Clampett got the first of his bogeys. But the 22-year-old Californian drew even again with a birdie on the fourth hole, creating a tie with the 25-year-old Price bogeyed.

The 25-year-old Price, whose most notable successes have been the 1980 Swiss Open and the 1981 South African Masters, wound up with a 73 for 285, tying him for second with Peter Oosterhuis, who had a 70.

Clampett, the leader for the first three rounds, fell out of contention early with five bogeys on the front

nine and he finished with a 77 for 288, where he was tied with Jack Nicklaus, who closed with a fine 69. At one point Saturday, Clampett had led the field by seven shots.

There was a four-way tie at 286 among Tom Purtzer and Nick Faldo, who both finished with 69, Masahiro Kuramoto with a 71, and Des Smyth with a 73.

Tied for eighth place at one-under 287 were Fuzzy Zoeller (70) and Sandy Lyle (74). Arnold Palmer, who opened the tournament with a 1-under-par 71, finished with a 3-over-par 297.

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A 12-foot birdie by Price on the seventh hole gave him a three-shot lead as Clampett was having a lot of difficulty with his tee shots, but then Watson, who had only one birdie on the front nine, at the fourth hole, dramatically stepped into the picture with his eagle on the par-5, 481-yard 11th hole. A superb approach had left him with only a three-foot putt.

When Price bogeyed the ninth hole, Watson gained the lead for the first time, but Price responded with birdies on the 10th, 11th and 12th holes to go up by three shots.

Then came the disastrous 15th where Price hooked his tee shot, sent his second shot into a bunker 40 yards from the green, hit the face of the bunker with his third shot, advancing the ball only a few feet, reached the green with his fourth shot and then two-potted.

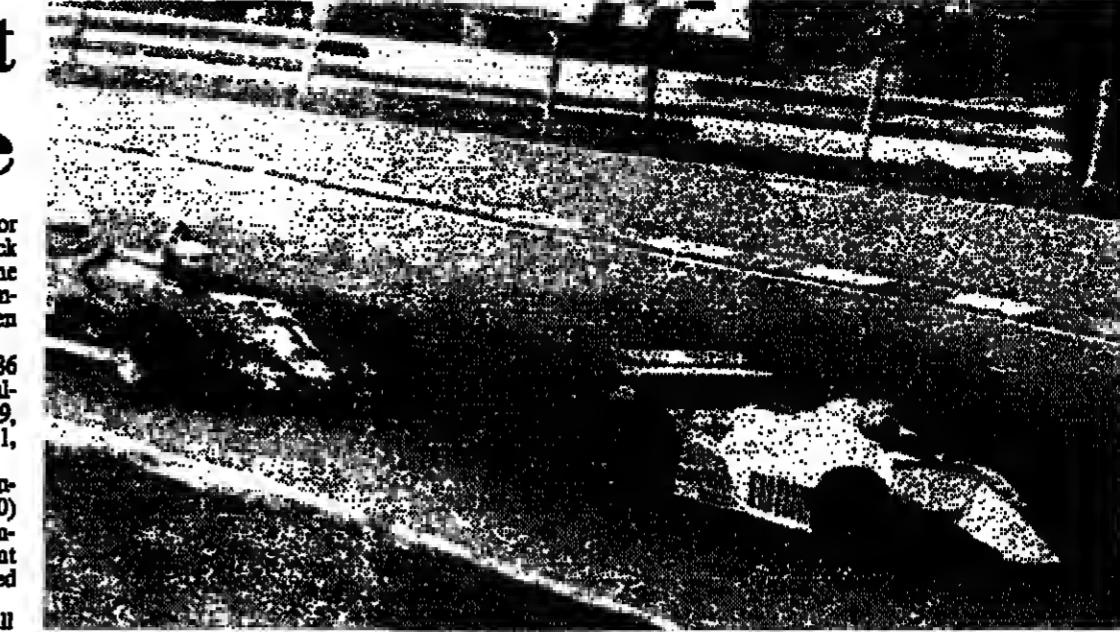
"I played the last six holes very badly," Price said. "I didn't drive the ball straight and just let it slip. It's typical of the way I was playing six months ago."

Price said that when he reached the turn he noticed that Watson had dropped back to four under.

"I thought this was my chance after my three birdies in a row. I thought just let me play nicely from here on in."

The only other players to win both the British and U.S. Opens in the same year were Bobby Jones in 1926 and 1930, Gene Sarazen in 1932, Ben Hogan in 1953 and Trevino.

Watson now has won seven major championships although he has yet to capture the PGA.



The Associated Press

Lauda Captures British Grand Prix; Pironi Takes Over Lead in Standings

United Press International

BRANDS HATCH, England — Niki Lauda turned the British Formula One Grand Prix into a one-man show Sunday, cruising home to victory more than 25 seconds ahead of second-placed Didier Pironi of France.

Lauda, the Austrian who won the 1976 British Grand Prix on the same track, drove superbly in his red-and-white McLaren, and after taking the lead on the 10th of the 76 laps he never looked back.

At one stage, he held a 43-second lead over the rest of the field, and although he visibly eased up over the closing stages it was clear he could not be caught.

Patrick Tambay of France, in his second Formula One drive this season, finished third behind his Ferrari teammate while Pironi took over the lead in the world championship standings.

Lauda completed the 198.63-mile (319.67-kilometer) race in an hour 35 minutes 33.812 seconds at a average speed of 124.7 mph (200.68 kph) to record his second triumph of the season following victory at Long Beach, Calif., in April.

Lauda was quick to acknowledge that his subsequent victory came as a direct result of Piquet's retirement.

"It was very fortunate for me because the trouble with the turbos is that it is very hard to overtake them," Lauda said. "I was able to out-accelerate Pironi at the start and had more good luck when Nelson broke down. Everything went fantastically well for me today."

Once Lauda took the lead, he gained seconds lap by lap. The real dogfighting came for second, third and fourth places, and Pironi was engaged in a fierce exchange with

Pironi's Brabham stalled as the start light turned to green and he was struck by Arrows' Renzo Deboni, damaged Fabi's Tolman, and Keke Rosberg, the polesitter, was forced to start the race in his Williams at the back of the field after his engine failed to start at the beginning of the warmup lap.

Watson Out Early

A crash in the early stages of the race also ended the hopes of Lauda's McLaren teammate, John Watson, of repeating his British Grand Prix victory of last year.

The most disappointed man Sunday was Rosberg. After gaining pole position for the first time in his career, nothing went right for the 33-year-old Finn and he was eventually forced to retire after leading for the first nine laps during which time he had opened a 10-second gap over Lauda.

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Derek Warwick of Britain in the middle stages of the race.

Pironi had to fight off attacks from De Angelis to hold onto second position and gain the six points that took him to the lead in the championship, before his teammate Tambay edged De Angelis out of third place on the last lap.

Daly followed up his fifth placing at Detroit and Zandvoort this season with the same result following a gutsy drive that included a tire change and the loss of part of his Williams' offside skirt.

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BRITISH GRAND PRIX	
1. Niki Lauda, Austria, McLaren, 1:35:33.812	GB
2. Didier Pironi, France, Ferrari, 1:35:39.538	
3. Patrick Tambay, France, Ferrari, 1:36:12.248	
4. John Watson, Britain, McLaren, 1:36:15.854	
5. Derek Warwick, Britain, Williams, 1:36:15.942	
6. Alain Prost, France, Renault, 1:36:15.942	
7. Bruno Giacomelli, Italy, Alfa Romeo, 1 lap behind	
8. Brian Henton, Britain, Tyrrell, 1 lap	
9. Riccardo Patrese, Italy, Williams, 2 laps	
10. Jochen Mass, West Germany, March, 3 laps	

FORMULA ONE STANDINGS

1. Pironi, 35 points
2. Didier Pironi, France, McLaren, 36
3. Lauda, 24
4. Tambay, 21
5. Watson, 20
6. Tambay, 19
7. Riccardo Patrese, Brazil, 17
8. De Angelis, 13
9. Eddie Cheever, America, 10
10. Nelson Piquet, Brazil, 7
11. Daly, 7

Moorcroft Clocks Second-Fastest 3,000 Meters

*By Peter Osnos**Washington Post Service*

LONDON — David Moorcroft, Britain's new track hero, broke away from a field of world-class competitors Saturday night to run the second-fastest 3,000-meter race on record, 7 minutes 32.79 seconds.

Moorcroft, who set the world record at 5,000 meters in Oslo earlier this month, outraced all celebrated runners as Britain's Steve Ovett and American Steve Scott, who finished 10th and fifth, respectively.

The race at London's Crystal Palace was originally intended as a match between Ovett and Britain's other outstanding middle-distance runner, Sebastian Coe. After Coe was forced to withdraw after suffering a hairline fracture of his leg earlier this month, meet organizers brought together a field that included many of the world's best runners.

Henry Rono of Kenya, who dropped out at the last minute Saturday, holds the record for 3,000 meters of 7:32.1. He had come under pressure from the Kenyan Athletics Federation that had considered challenging his entry in the meet because of his refusal to join an African team in the United States recently.

The runner-up was Debbie Eide of the Oregon Track Club in a time of 33:14.6, followed by Eryn Forbes of the University of Oregon in 33:31.7. Pat Dixon, 63, also set a world record for her age group as she finished fifth in a time of 44:51.0.

On June 5, Decker-Tabb set a world mark in the 5,000 meters of 15:08.26 in the Prefontaine Classic in Eugene, Ore. And on July 9 in Paris she set a mile record of 4:18.08. She also holds the U.S. record in the 3,000 meters.

"I am surprised since it was my first 10,000 on the track," she said. "I am surprised it was so easy. It just proves the records aren't stiff yet. The more people run them, the stiffer they'll get."

slowly recovering from an injury last winter. Earlier this month he dropped out of a race in Paris complaining of stomach pains. And Saturday he was not in good form and left the track hanging his head.

While Ovett and Coe had been expected to vie this season for the position of the world's top middle-distance runner, that distinction, at least for the moment, belongs to Moorcroft. He is a widely respected but previously little-known runner.

The most disappointing performance was Ovett's. He has been

competing who was champion in the Commonwealth Games and European Cup but never considered a prime contender for world record marks.

Following behind Moorcroft and Marce was John Walker of New Zealand, the 1975 world record holder in the 3,000 meters, who is running faster than he was six years ago. Other celebrated names such as West Germany's Thomas Wessinghage and Kenyans Mike Boit and Peter Koech finished far back.

Moorcroft's time set a British record. The winner said the contest was "much more of a race" than he expected with the runners more tightly packed than some had predicted. He said he had expected Ovett and Scott to dominate the field, and he was grateful to Marce for closing in on him in the final lap and forcing a last burst of speed toward the finish.

The 3,000 meters is something of an stepchild in international competition. There is no Olympic gold medal and most middle-distance runners concentrate on either 1,500 meters or 5,000 meters. The top-class field Saturday gave 3,000 meters the kind of attention it has rarely received and established it as a major new test in championship running.

*Decker-Tabb Breaks Record**United Press International*

EUGENE, Ore. — Mary Decker-Tabb set a world record Friday night in the 10,000 meters. It was her third world record in less than two months.

Decker-Tabb led all the way on the University of Oregon's Hayward Field course as she covered the distance in 31:35.3. She shattered the mark of 32:17.19 that had been held by Yelena Sipatova of the Soviet Union.

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*Major League**Standings**NATIONAL LEAGUE**East*

W	L	Pct.	GB
39	36	.563	—

LANGUAGE

Subjunctive Musings

By William Safire

NEW YORK — When I thrilled to the timbre of Ronald Colman's voice, or somebody imitating that voice, saying, "Ah, if I were king . . ." little did I realize that this was an example of the subjunctive mood. Speaking subjectively, the subjunctive is not a mood I like; it reminds me of frosty French lessons from Miss Moore at Joan of Arc Junior High. The French are very big on the subjunctive.

We are now going to tackle this subject because I am tired of guessing about when to pick if I were instead of if I was.

"If the fellow was an student in English," writes Jack Smith in his lively column in *The Los Angeles Times*, "he would not misplace an only." You're not all right, Jack; if the main verb in a sentence is conditional — would — then the if-clause verb should be subjunctive — were. (If I were sure of this, I would write it with greater authority.) The rule of thumb is to use were.

For example, "If wishes were horses, beggars would ride." That's right, not only because the were hitches up with the would, but because if the clause makes a statement contrary to fact, or at least expresses an unlikely condition. That's the essence of the subjunctive — use it when it ain't necessarily so. Writing about a film by Constantine Costa-Gavras, a New Yorker reviewer observed: "Its techniques of excitation could as easily be used by a smart Fascist filmmaker, if there were one. Luckily, there isn't." Were is right because it refers to a situation the writer thinks does not exist. Were is also used after hypothetical indicators like as if and as though.

So, the lazy reader is thinking, whenever I see an if, I'll use a were. That's a mistake, if there ever was one. When you're calling up a possible fact in your if clause, scorn the subjunctive. "If Reagan runs again, he will win a walk," Similarly, "If Kennedy waits to run until he is Reagan's age, it will be the year 2000." (Not were to wait . . . would be.)

The point is that you should use were after if when you are talking

about a fair possibility of fact. Let's say you just shot your spouse for the insurance money, you are about to enter a grand-jury room and you know the foreman is an English teacher. The phrase to keep in mind is: "If I were at the scene of the murder, I do not remember it."

If I were you, I'd use the subjunctive only to call attention to myself. (I'm not you, which is why were is right.) Making understandable the impenetrable subjunctive is a far, far better thing I do than I have ever done before, as Ronald Colman used to say.

AS A responsible political journalist, I telephoned a target of an intended harangue and asked politely if story had been given was true. He shouted, "No!" and hung up. I dutifully ran the charge and his denial, with the words "but he flatly denies it."

Joseph Hixson, a former colleague at *The New York Herald Tribune*, wrote to object to the "flatly." He recalled that a copy editor once acted that adverb out of his copy, with a gruff "He denied it, right?"

I found myself unable to tell him how one could deny more than deny — i.e., flatly, ruminates Hixson. A friend who's served on a news copy desk suggested that "flatly" means "categorically." But I flatly riposted that "categorically" might refer to a series of accusations to which an all-encompassing denial was being applied. Put it that the copy editor at the Trib smelted a very unique and was determined to squash that."

Sounds like a job for the Nit-picker Patrol. Sorry, Joe: "Flatly denied" is not redundant, the way "very unique" is. The "flatly" is a legitimate intensifier, adding zip to the denial. (To say "the flat-out denied" that is a mistake, however; "flat-out" is derived from auto racing, when the accelerated pedal is pressed flat to the floor, and means "maximum effort." It should not be confused with the simple "flatly," which means "without reservation or equivocation.")

But the query got me to thinking: Why "flatly denied"? Why not "roundly denied"? The answer — and this is what the old copy editor may have had in mind — is that "flatly" and "denied" is a tired couple, often rightly derided as "wedged words."

New York Times Service

By David Remnick
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Roger Angell is so intent on describing precisely the "gorgeous" contours of Boston's Fenway Park that he ignores his chef's salad.

"It's quirky and pretty," he says of Fenway. "Someone once counted all the little angles in the fair-ball area of the outfield wall. I'm trying to remember how many."

The ice in his Bloody Mary is melting, turning the drink a watery pink. "Oh yeah, I think it's 22 angles or something. There's this one spot with such a sharp angle that if the ball gets caught between it, it keeps hitting back and forth, whack, whack, whack."

Angell is the Edmund Burke of baseball. When it comes to Astro-turf, domeball, designated hitters, seven-digit salaries, regular fences and George Steinbrenner, he is a traditionalist who wants his base ball pure, outdoors and timeless.

For Angell, who has been writing about the sport for *The New Yorker* since 1962 and who has published "Late Innings: A Baseball Companion," the sport is an inexhaustible supply of detail and ritual. "It's perfect for a writer, so full of specifics. I love the way a ballyplayer knocks the dirt out of his spikes," he says.

"The ritual that is sport is strongest in baseball, and I sense there is something there that is important."

"I'm a conservative in the sense that I don't want to see things change too quickly. Our problem in this country is not that we take sports too seriously, but that we don't take them seriously enough. We're always ready to trivialize it, to see what the game is, to understand why we might find baseball absorbing and important."

"Baseball is a permanent play, a controlled environment," said Angell. "You can get to know a great number of people on rather intimate terms. Something is happening to them every day, which something we can't say for ourselves. It's an intensified environment."

"To be a little bit serious about it — and I don't like to philosophize too much about something that is so much fun — baseball is about ourselves, a system of testing ourselves. It is something we arrange, we construct, to lift us up, to exhilarate us. There is an element of ritual that is so moving, I don't know why. This is why fans are so important, particularly in baseball. There's so much to know, so much history there that is precisely recorded. The fans know more about the game than the owners; they're more involved. The fans are there

Roger Angell

*The Edmund Burke of Baseball*Bats Out a Few Long Flies
On What It All Means

of a John Updike (whom he edits), with the humor of a Woody Allen (whom he also edits) and with the enthusiasm of an 8-year-old pounding the oiled pocket of a treasured Rawlings glove.

A distinguished, professional-looking man, Angell edits fiction writers such as V.S. Pritchett, Max Frisch and Ann Beattie, author of "Falling in Place." "He knows just how to handle individual writers and goes over everything, word by word, really fine-editing the story into being."

It is almost as difficult to imagine this soft-spoken man with the horn-rimmed glasses and neatly trimmed mustache brandishing a lethally sharp editing pencil as it is to imagine him discussing batting grips with a naked infielder.

Baseball is not often an occasion for elegant or reflexive prose — even the best baseball books tend toward the sentimental rather than the insightful. Angell brings to the game the kind of intelligence that allows him not only to record its subtle details but also to make sense of them, to see what the game is, to understand why we might find baseball absorbing and important.

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to see that it is done right, to measure how things are done as well as to see who wins."

"Late Innings," like Angell's two previous collections, "The Summer Game" and "Five Seasons," is written in a partisan voice — a voice often heard denouncing high-profile owners such as George Steinbrenner, who are more famous than most of their players. The loyalty of the fans, he writes, is "shown not only in their dogged, comical attachment to this hopeless team or that fading star but in their adherence to the sport in the face of the repeated injuries they have suffered at the hands of the carefree men who have bought their way into baseball's seats of power."

Most of Angell's energies, however, are devoted to praise rather than criticism. One of the best pieces of reporting in "Late Innings" is his profile of Hall of Fame pitcher Bob Gibson, a particularly obdurate, even intimidating public performer famous for a rising fast ball and an occasional brushback. Angell's subject is a recurrent one — the retired athlete trying to find a new life that is not wholly overshadowed by the glory and intensity of his athletic career. He handles it with uncommon sympathy.

The ex-Cardinal pitcher has always been a tough, blunt interview subject, especially for journalists who prefer gibber talkers like Reggie Jackson. Angell saw Gibson as a challenge.

"Bob Gibson was scary, the most fearsome pitcher I ever saw," said Angell. "There was nobody like him. And now that he was out of baseball, he was as tough as ever. But drift, maybe. The thing about all athletes, in baseball particularly, is that they become sad figures. You can see a whole lifetime played out in the space of 10 or 15 years. You see them born as rookies, then they live a shining youth when almost anything seems possible, then a quick middle age and then an athletic death, their departure from the game."

Gibson recently found work in

baseball again as a coach, first for the New York Mets and now for the Atlanta Braves — a happy ending for Angell's profile.

"I heard a great story about him," said Angell, pushing aside his chef's salad again. "The other day Gibson was pitching batting practice and one of the Braves, Bob Watson, hit a home run off of him. The next pitch, Gibby knocked Watson down on his back. So he hasn't changed."

In a way, said Angell, baseball itself has changed very little. "When I watch the players, it's not as though they are competing only against their opponents on the field," he said. "It's almost as if they're playing a continuous game in time with every player and every team playing against one another. There's a magical feeling when a player gets one and another takes his place. There's that wonderful continuity in, say, the shortstop position from Pee Wee Reese to Luis Aparicio to Dave Concepcion."

"One trap in writing about baseball is excessive nostalgia. I think it may be because we all came to the game through our fathers and at a time when we were children and everything in the world seemed good. But the quality of most experience is not confined to when we were young. Tomorrow I could see the best game I'll ever see."

And at the thought of that — of a game that has, perhaps, Angell's beloved Red Sox finally overcoming their perennial late-season jinx to win the American League flag — he begins to smile, beaming into the middle distance. Lunch is ignored completely. Roger Angell is in the game.



Nancy Kaye, The Washington Post Author of 'Ritual pitch.'

LETTER FROM PAKISTAN

Eating Under Wraps

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Service

ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN — "Brown bagging" here has taken on a new meaning here during the holy month of Ramazan, as the Pakistanis call the month when faithful Moslems are supposed to skip food and water for the 16 hours from dawn to dusk.

But the enforcement of martial law in Pakistan is not merely a philosophical question. On the first day of Ramazan, 34 people caught eating or drinking in public received jail terms ranging from three to six days and fines up to \$25.

The highest religious court, or shariat, affirmed last month the amputation of the right hand of a man convicted of stealing a clock in a mosque. No date was set for the amputation.

Sex Symbols

Some believe Zia will hesitate to carry out the sentence for fear of alienating Western aid donors, including the United States, but it is known that some religious leaders are urging him to cut off a hand for its deterrent effect.

Part of Zia's Islamization drive includes restrictions on women. A women's field-hockey team was not allowed to compete in an international match, even though they would be wearing shapeless uniforms.

Raja Zafar-ul-Haq, the information minister, has attacked Pakistan's newspapers which, he said, exploited women as sex symbols by publishing "objectionable" pictures of film stars.

Now all the newspapers have dropped their popular film supplements, and advertising agencies are being discouraged from using pretty women as models.

The drive toward Islamization includes a certain rewriting of history, especially as it concerns Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the father of Pakistan. A Moslem politician in British India, Jinnah liked his whiskey, dressed immaculately in Savile Row suits and was never known as a religious man. Articles he wrote show his vision for Pakistan was a secular state where South Asia's large Moslem population could have protection and independence from the continent's Hindu majority.

But in Pakistan today, debates on the finer points of Islamic law that once were confined to religious journals fill the pages of the general press.

The Pakistan Times just carried a long article by Prof. Rafiullah Shehab questioning whether mouthwashes, cough syrups or food flavoring containing alcohol can be used by Moslems.

His article was based on a 1975 study done in the United States that showed some of the products contain a higher percentage of alcohol than wine or beer. He said the question was "hotly debated."

Illustration

These state restrictions during Ramazan illustrate how Zia's martial law government is pushing its Islamic regulation into Pakistan's everyday life. In many Islamic states, and in pre-Zia Pakistan, fasting during Ramazan was considered a matter between man and his god, not an issue of state.

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